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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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THE ROOT OF THE MATTER

SQUIRE ASQUITH: "Can't you get rid of these fungi?"
GARDENER McKENNA: "Well, sir, I'll try my new weed-destroyer, but——"
WOMAN: "Why don't you go to the root of the matter?"

("The right way of dealing with it is not by a special law passed to meet the particular case, but by taking such action as would remove the grievance."—MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.)

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

On Thursday in last week Mr. Dickinson introduced the Woman Suffrage Bill which has been drafted by the Liberal Suffragist group in the House of Commons. As already announced in these columns, the Bill proposes to confer the vote upon women of 25 years of age and upwards who are either themselves householders or the wives of men householders. The Bill is backed by Messrs. Burt, Chancellor, Fenwick, Leif Jones, H. McLaren, Walter Rea, and Sir Chas. Nicholson, Liberals; Lord Henry Bentinck and Sir J. Rolleston, Unionists; and Messrs. Henderson and Snowden, of the Labour Party. No date has yet been fixed for the second reading, but it is expected that two days will be given for it before Whitsuntide, and it will be remembered that the Government have promised to afford complete facilities as to time. In view, however, of the refusal of all Government support for the measure and of the chaos into which the non-party majority for Woman Suffrage has been cast by the Government's Electoral Reform Bill of last session, Suffragists are under no illusion as to the success of the measure.

The Plural Voting Bill

In striking contrast to the attitude of the Government with regard to the question of Woman Suffrage is their attitude to another alteration of the franchise laws—the Plural Voting Bill. The former is passionately desired by a large section of the population, and has been the subject of more petitions and larger peaceful demonstrations than any other question; the latter has not evoked the slightest interest in the country. Yet the latter is to be pushed forward with the full force of the Government majority for the simple reason that it is reckoned to be of value to the Liberal Party. As long ago as November, 1911, when the first announcement of the Electoral Reform Bill was made, we foretold that it would be dropped and a Plural Voting Bill would take its place. This has now actually happened. The Plural Voting Bill was introduced on Tuesday last, and passed its first reading by the triumphant majority of 126.

The Labour Party and the N.U.W.S.S.

Included among this majority was the full force of the Labour Party, with the exception of Messrs. Keir Hardie, Snowden, and O'Grady. This support for the Bill was given in the teeth of (1) a resolution of the annual Labour Conference directing members of the Party to oppose any Government Franchise Bill which did not establish Woman Suffrage; (2) a resolution of the I.L.P. directing its own section of the Party specifically to oppose the Plural Voting Bill for the same reason; (3) a manifesto from the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies (which gives its whole-hearted support to the Labour Party) pointing out that the Plural Voting Bill was the Liberal "salvage" out of the wreck of the Electoral Reform Bill, and that it ought not to be allowed to be brought to port until the Woman Suffrage Bill was also salvaged. Excuse will no doubt be made by the Labour Members who supported the Government that as they were in favour of the principle of the Bill they could not vote against it. This excuse is not sufficient. Their vote could have quite easily been given against it on the ground that no other

alteration of the franchise laws ought to take place until the flagrant exclusion of women had been rectified. Hardie, Snowden, and O'Grady took this view; where these men led, why could the rest of the party not have followed?

The Cat and Mouse Bill

In our last week's issue we gave an account of the second reading debate on the Cat and Mouse Bill, and cited the figures of the divisions on Mr. Keir Hardie's amendment and on the Bill. We give this week (p. 391) the names of the M.P.'s who alone out of the House of Commons stood out against this dishonourable measure. Among the eight Members and two tellers who voted with Mr. Hardie were only Seven Labour men: Messrs. Duncan, Smith, Snowden, Thomas, Thorne, Richardson, and O'Grady. In the division on the second reading these were reinforced by Messrs. Goldstone and Taylor. What were the rest of the party doing? And how can any self-respecting Suffragist give her support to the Labour Party as a Party when it makes so poor a showing in fighting the battle of the women? It will be observed that in spite of their own past record not a single Nationalist voted in either division against the Bill.

Further Stages of the Bill

The Government have lost no time in taking further stages of the Bill, and on Tuesday last it was discussed in Committee of the whole House when the Home Secretary read out the form of license which he proposes to issue. This we give in full on page 391. Sir A. Markham said that if Mr. McKenna really believed that this Cat and Mouse Bill would put an end to hunger strikes he must be indeed a Simple Simon. Lord Robert Cecil said that the conditions suggested by the Home Secretary, affecting as they did the liberty of the subject and dealing with an entirely novel proposal by the Government, ought not to be in the discretion of the Home Secretary, but ought to be embodied in an Act of Parliament. His speech was still proceeding when the debate was adjourned.

The Value of the Bill

We have already expressed emphatically our opinion of this amazing piece of panic legislation. Looking at it from the widest possible point of view, we see that it is a further step in the surrender of the rights of the individual to the power of the Executive. It arms the Home Secretary for the time being with most dangerous powers, and enables him to strike a corrupt political bargain with a political prisoner. From the point of view of the revolutionary Suffrage campaign, it will be utterly futile. When once it is realised that the Suffragist prisoners are not amenable to the considerations by which ordinary people are influenced, the futility becomes apparent to everyone. These heroic women are not afraid of suffering—they are not afraid of death itself. The Home Secretary will find, therefore, that the Act cannot be enforced. The law will be brought into still greater contempt than before. The Government will only be still more embarrassed.

A Really Liberal View

The *Manchester Guardian*, in its issue of April 3, puts the situation very clearly. We call special attention to the sentence we have marked in italics:

> In spite of the great majority for the Bill on the division, no one really likes it. As a general rule, Bills passed to meet a special emergency are wrong in principle. They are special decrees in form of an Act, not genuine laws; and as such offend against a well-established canon of legislation that it ought to be of general and not of particular application. Mr. Roberts sought to redeem the Bill from this reproach by declaring that if the hunger-strike was not dealt with successfully the prison door would stand open and the whole of our criminal procedure might as well be abandoned. There is no such general issue; the difficulty is confined within the very narrowest compass, and affects a minority only of a small minority of prisoners, and these actuated in their resistance to prison discipline by motives which the ordinary prisoner could never feel. It is an executive difficulty, and the right way of dealing with it is not by a special law passed to meet the particular case, *but by taking such action as would remove the grievance* which drives these women to their foolish crimes and to their hunger-strike. The argument that to concede their demands would be to encourage law-breaking has been used against all reforms which are so passionately desired as to drive men to crime and rebellion.

The *Daily Mail* regards the Bill as putting an end, to a great extent, to forcible feeding, for which it is "unfeignedly glad," as it recognises that in numerous instances forcible feeding is undoubtedly torture.

The Sentence on Mrs. Pankhurst

Apart from the events in Parliament, the whole interest of the Suffrage world has centred during the week upon the conviction and sentence upon Mrs. Pankhurst and the defiant reply to it given by the members of her party. At the close of a dramatic trial lasting two days, the jury returned a verdict of guilty with a strong recommendation to mercy; whereupon the judge saw fit to impose the severe sentence of three years' penal servitude—a heavier sentence than is imposed on men guilty of the most abominable outrages on the persons of women and children. Mrs. Pankhurst at once declared her intention of resorting to the hunger strike in prison, and when we went to press on Wednesday night her release was hourly expected, a patrol of members of the W.S.P.U. waiting constantly outside Holloway to give her a welcome.

Will she be Released on License?

In view of the fact that she has been sentenced to penal servitude, the Government will be able, if they wish, to make her release conditional; that is to say, they will be in a position to carry out the cat and mouse policy which they are proposing to apply by legislation to cases of ordinary imprisonment. They have already tried this policy with conspicuous failure in the case of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans in Ireland. They are almost certain to try it in the case of Mrs. Pankhurst. If they do so, we have not the slightest doubt that they will be ignominiously beaten.

The Revolutionary Campaign

Meanwhile, the imprisonment of Mrs. Pankhurst, instead of putting a stop to the revolutionary activity of her followers, has had, as every thoughtful person must have foreseen, the precisely opposite effect. More damage and destruction has been done during the past week than in all the years that have gone before. Tens of thousands of pounds of property have been consigned to the flames. Priceless works of art have, for the first time, been attacked, and in consequence public museums, picture galleries, and art treasuries are being closed to the public. Nor is there the slightest indication that the campaign of violence is being brought to a close.

Arrest of Miss Annie Kenney

On Tuesday afternoon Miss Annie Kenney was arrested on a warrant and brought before the magistrate at Bow Street. In view of the inflammatory speeches which it was alleged she had made, it was asked that she should be called on to give sureties for good behaviour in the future. The case was remanded till Wednesday, and again remanded till Tuesday, April 22, bail being allowed on condition of an undertaking to refrain from taking any part in the militant movement by speaking or otherwise in the meanwhile.

Heroic Hunger Striker Released

Miss Olive Wharry was released on Tuesday last from Holloway Prison after an extraordinary experience. She had been on hunger strike ever since her incarceration thirty-two days before. During the whole of that time she had refused all food, but her condition had not been observed by the prison authorities, nor was she at any time fed by force. This experience illustrates three facts. First and foremost, the amazing courage of Miss Wharry, shared by many other of the heroic women who are taking part in the Suffrage agitation; secondly, the carelessness of the prison medical staff; thirdly, the callous brutality of the practice of forcible feeding, which, while professing to be adopted for the purpose of sustaining life, in reality has no such effect, for there are very few instances in which a prisoner, after being fed by force, has been retained in prison for a period as long as thirty-two days.

The Government and Mr. Pethick Lawrence

The civil action brought by the Government against Mr. Pethick Lawrence to recover the sum of £608 5s. 8d., the balance of the money claimed to be owing to the Director of Public Prosecutions on account of the costs of the prosecution of himself and others in May last, was heard before the Master in Chambers on Wednesday afternoon. The Government Counsel admitted the mistake of £10 in arithmetic pointed out in the first instance by a correspondent to this paper. This reduced the claim to £598 5s. 8d., and judgment was given by the Master for this sum. To the lay mind, it is somewhat difficult to understand why the Government should attempt to enforce by civil suit a claim for which they have already got an order of the Court. The reason appears to be that by so doing they have at their disposal additional coercive remedies in the event of a continued refusal to pay. No further steps had, however, been taken to enforce payment before we went to press.

Blame on the Right Shoulders

A very striking leading article appeared in the *Morning Post* on Saturday last, in which the writer first dilates upon the disorder prevailing in the country, and then lays the blame on the shoulders of the Government:—

> Unfortunately the House of Commons and the Government have coquetted with the agitators, and have made them promises, conditional and otherwise, for which they had no sort of authority from the electors. Certain politicians, and even members of the Government, have been so profligate upon this subject as to suggest to these misguided ladies that to win their battle they should adopt the tactics of the lawless mobs which burned down Nottingham Castle and tore up the Hyde Park railings. The notorious incitement by Mr. Hobhouse is a case in point. Again, Mr. Lloyd George has, if we may use a metaphor, dandled the Suffragette upon his knee when it suited him to support her cause, and run away from her when it was no longer politically expedient to carry on the flirtation. Such incitements and deceptions have had their inevitable effect, and the blowing up of the Walton Heath house was the Nottingham Castle chicken come home to roost. . . . For our part we think that a measure of coercion is necessary if the law is not to be brought into utter contempt. But we think also that for the present deplorable situation some of our politicians, and especially fast-and-loosers like Mr. Lloyd George, are largely responsible.

The writer concludes by saying that he believes Woman Suffrage would be bad for the country, but adds: "If their cause is right, let them persuade the country that it is right, and when they have done so we who believe them to be wrong will, no doubt, be compelled to give way."

A "Terminological Inexactitude"

The precise value of credence to be placed in official answers given in the House of Commons may be gathered from the following facts. On Tuesday afternoon Mr. Ellis Griffith, questioned as to the health of Miss Emerson, a Suffrage prisoner then being forcibly fed in Holloway, said that the medical officers reported the condition of her health as "quite satisfactory." The same evening she was released from prison, an ambulance being specially requisitioned for the purpose. Her release was due to the fact that the doctors expressed their opinion that her continued imprisonment would be dangerous.

Items of Interest

We draw attention to a letter sent to this paper by Viscount Dillon, in which he sarcastically remarks that he hopes that in the forthcoming international exhibition at Ghent, in the British Prisons Exhibit the Government will send the appliances used by them in forcibly feeding Suffragettes.

Our readers will learn with disgust the brutal methods adopted in prison against Miss Ella Stevenson, whose nostrils were severely injured by forcible tube feeding, and one of whose teeth was subsequently knocked clean out in an endeavour to force open her mouth by the gag.

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THE CAT AND MOUSE BILL

Abridged Report of Committee Stage in the House of Commons—April 8, 1913

Last Tuesday afternoon the House went into Committee on the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-health) Bill, the text of which was given in our issue of March 28.

Viscount Wolmer moved that in Clause 1., which empowers the Home Secretary to release a prisoner on licence in certain circumstances, the words "a judge of the High Court" should be substituted for the words "Secretary of State."

The object of this Amendment, he said, is to take it out of the power of the Secretary of State to decide whether this Bill shall apply to any prisoner in custody. This Bill does not apply only to suffragettes, but to everybody, and it is much more desirable that that decision should be taken by some authority which would not be susceptible of political influence, and against whom no suspicion of political bias could possibly attach. Even as regards the present emergency of suffragettes, this Bill would place the Home Secretary in a very invidious position. The method which the campaign of militancy is following at present is to attack the persons of Cabinet Ministers. As long as militancy continues this method of political propaganda Cabinet Ministers will be always subject to attacks against their persons which will bring the perpetrators within the arm of the law, and the situation contemplated by this Bill is likely to arise in those cases. It would be very awkward for the Home Secretary to have to decide whether a prisoner who had been committing serious outrages against his person, or against his colleagues, and who had openly announced his intention of resuming those outrages the moment he was let out of prison, should or should not be let out of prison.

Mr. McKenna: The Noble Lord has said quite truly that it is undesirable for any politician to have to decide whether a political supporter or politician should be given the privileges of this Act. Rightly or wrongly, there is upon me the responsibility at this moment of deciding this very question in much more important cases, in which I have to advise upon the exercise of the prerogative. The responsibility rests on the Home Secretary of advising the release of any prisoner, and I have that power already. All that is suggested now is that the Home Secretary should have the power, not merely of releasing a prisoner, but, in certain cases, of discharging the prisoner temporarily, where there is necessity for that decision arising from the prisoner's own acts. It would be really straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel to insist on applying to a judge before the Home Secretary could exercise such a minor responsibility, when he has now the responsibility of advising the exercise of the Royal prerogative with regard to every prisoner in gaol.

Lord Robert Cecil: I do not think the Home Secretary quite appreciates the effect of his own Bill. The effect of this Sub-section is to put a fetter on the prisoner's right of release in consequence of his state of health. At the present moment it is conceded, or at any rate it is a matter of practice, that when it is dangerous to a prisoner to be kept in prison he must be released. I state with great confidence, it is his right, and surely there are a large number of cases in which quite apart from suffragettes that has been done. The real effect of the Clause seems to me to put a fetter on the release, and not to make it easier to release the prisoner, but to make it easier to release the prisoner conditionally instead of absolutely. That seems to me to be a matter eminently for judicial inquiry which ought to be determined on judicial grounds, and the question is whether the Home Secretary is on the whole the best person to exercise what is a judicial function.

Sir A. Markham: This Bill has been properly termed "The Cat and Mouse Bill." I entirely dissent from it, but in my opinion it is preferable to have a judge in place of the Secretary of State, as he will not be so likely to be influenced by the sloppy sentimentalism which is so apparent in this House, but which is not, in my opinion, apparent in the country.

Sir J. D. Rees: It is inconceivable to me that anybody who has had experience of prison management can for a moment contemplate taking a matter of this kind out of the hands of the Executive and putting it back into the hands of the Judiciary. It is not a judicial question. It seems to be incredible that it should be proposed that a judge should recommend the exercise of the Royal prerogative, and I hope my Noble Friend will not press this Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Hume-Williams: I beg to move after the word "State" ["If the Secretary of State is satisfied"] to insert the words "of the governor of any prison authorised by the Secretary of State with reference to a particular prisoner."

The object of this Amendment is to meet the question of urgency to which reference has already been made. It seems to me quite possible that, supposing a prisoner hunger-strikes, a period may and probably would arise when the condition of the prisoner, hitherto without danger, would suddenly become dangerous, owing, for instance, to the condition of the heart. That might occur at the week-end, when even the Home Secretary might be away, and by the time the Home Secretary had been found, an application made, and an order issued, the prisoner might be dead.

Mr. McKenna: I fully appreciate the desire of the hon. and learned Member, but I do not think that the words are required in order to effect the object he has in mind. The words are equally objectionable on another ground. The Secretary of State and the governor are placed as alternatives. The assumption, therefore, would be that there might be cases in which the Secretary of State would not be responsible. I hope my hon. and learned Friend will not press this Amendment. In practice the object is really met.

Sir J. D. Rees: I object to this or any power in this respect being given to the governors of gaols. Let it all remain on the devoted head of the Secretary of State. To do him justice, though I have frequently complained of his leniency to what are mis-called political prisoners, I will say on the present occasion he has stuck to his guns, and I mean to support him.

Amendment put, and negatived.

DANGER TO LIFE

Mr. Hume Williams: I beg to move in Sub-section (1) to leave out the words, "by reason of the condition of a prisoner's health," and to insert instead thereof the words, "continued detention will endanger a prisoner's life or seriously and permanently affect his health, and that it is therefore." This Bill deals with all prisoners for all time to come, and therefore it is a Bill which we are bound to consider in the interests of the community, and not only in reference to the particular contingency for which it is being passed. I propose to insert words which at any rate contain some limitation upon the powers of the Secretary of State, and which will confine them to cases in which he is satisfied—whether or not he is properly satisfied is a matter for his honour—that the continued detention will interfere with the prisoner's life or will seriously affect his health.

Mr. McKenna: I cannot help thinking that the hon. and learned Member has misconstrued the purpose of the first three lines of this Clause. His argument is that the Home Secretary ought never to have such unrestricted powers of release as are granted under this Bill. My answer is that the Home Secretary has got all those powers now. I have unrestricted power to advise the release of any prisoner, and this Bill gives me no powers in that direction in excess of what I possess.

Mr. Hume-Williams: The right hon. gentleman knows that that power is very sparingly exercised because it involves a reversal of the decision of the Court, but this is a power which the right hon. Gentleman is likely to be exercising daily.

Mr. McKenna: Oh, no. I look upon hunger strikes as of a very temporary nature, and I do not think I shall have to exercise this power very often after the Bill has passed. I think one of the effects of the Bill will be to shorten the life of hunger strikes.

At the present time I cannot make these prisoners undergo their sentences without serious risk of death, and I want to have power to enable me to compel a prisoner to undergo the sentence, and I want that power in all cases in which the prisoner adopts the system of the hunger strike. At the present moment, although I have power to release, I cannot release a prisoner without a pardon, and I have to discharge them for good. I want the power of releasing a prisoner without a pardon with the sentence remaining alive.

Sir A. Markham: I am really amazed at the reply of the Home Secretary. He says that this Bill is going to shorten the life of the hunger strike. He says that when he is armed with the provisions of this Bill, the good common sense of English women will put an end to the strike. If he thinks that, he must indeed be a Simple Simon. It is incredible to me that anyone with the most remote idea of common sense can believe that the immediate effect of this Bill will not be that women who today have not gone to prison will do so not by scores, but by hundreds. They will say, "We will see what is going to be done to us under this ridiculous cat-and-mouse Bill." If I had my way I would hang anybody who was convicted of throwing a bomb or of being in possession of a bomb, whoever it was, whether their life was in danger or not, because the possession of bombs is in itself a crime against innocent people, and to let out prisoners who have committed a crime of that kind simply because they are in a poor state of health is to my mind perfectly outrageous.

Sir J. D. Rees: My hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Hume-Williams) would give the Home Secretary power to release a prisoner whenever continued detention would seriously or permanently affect the prisoner's health. That would encourage the Home Secretary to let loose almost every prisoner in gaol, for there are very few prisoners whose health is not seriously or permanently affected. I believe he wants to be endowed with statutory power to deal with particular people, and not to use his power of recommending unconditional release. For these reasons I suggest that it is extremely desirable that no support should be given to the Amendment.

Mr. Keir Hardie: We are told that the reason why he insists upon forcing food upon the women who do not want to take it is that the law imposed upon him the obligation of seeing that these women do not die, and that the Law Courts have held that he is bound to prevent prisoners dying from starvation. Suppose this Bill becomes law, and the Home Secretary, owing to an error in judgment, keeps one of these prisoners so long in prison that she actually dies, would he not then become liable to be tried for homicide? I ask him whether he has considered that point, and whether he is prepared to take the risk?

The Chairman: I could not allow the Home Secretary to answer that question, because it would not be in order for him to do so.

Mr. Booth: If the Amendment goes to a Division, I think I must vote for it. I do not regard this Bill as of the slightest value as it is applied to suffragettes, but as it does apply to the general community these Amendments become important, particularly this one. It seems to me a wrong thing, owing to temporary pressure—which to my mind is the result of weak administration — to put into our permanent criminal law amendments of this kind.

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

The Committee divided: Ayes, 216; Noes, 74.

TERMS OF LICENCE

After a discussion on an amendment of Mr. Booth's to substitute the words "wilful misconduct" for "prisoner's own conduct in prison," and other verbal alterations proposed by Sir F. Banbury, Sir Alfred Cripps moved an amendment the object of which was to take out of the discretion of the Home Secretary and make statutory the terms of the licence on which the prisoner was to be released.

Mr. McKenna said he had prepared a form of licence which it was proposed to issue when this Bill became law, so that the House might be apprised, at the earliest moment, of what the kind of condition was that they had in view as the condition upon which a prisoner should be temporarily discharged. The form of the licence he proposed would be as follows:—

1. The prisoner shall return to the above-mentioned prison on the —— day of ——.

2. The period of temporary discharge granted by this order may, if the Secretary of State thinks fit, be extended on representation by the prisoner that the state of her health renders her unfit to return to prison. If such representation be made, the prisoner shall submit herself if so required for medical examination by the medical officer of the above prison or other medical practitioner appointed by the Secretary of State.

3. The prisoner shall notify the Commissioner of Police for the Metropolis of the place of residence to which she goes on her discharge, and she shall not change her residence without giving one clear day's previous notice in writing to the Commissioner specifying the residence to which she is going, and she shall not be temporarily absent from her residence for more than twelve hours without giving the like notice.

4. She shall abstain from any violation of the law.

The second condition did not give the Home Secretary power to extend the period; it only extended the period at the request of the prisoner. The conditions were not punitive but were strictly limited to what was necessary to secure the enforcement of the order of the Court. If a prisoner did not conform to the conditions the licence would *ipso facto* be cancelled, and the prisoner would be liable to be taken to prison before the expiration of the period of temporary discharge.

Mr. Snowden (Blackburn, Lab.): Then we are where we started.

Mr. McKenna: Oh, no; not quite.

Mr. H. Smith: Will you forcibly feed her?

Mr. McKenna: I hope not.

Mr. H. Smith: Will you, if necessary?

Mr. McKenna: If it were necessary to feed a prisoner forcibly, of course I should do so. I am not deprived under this Bill of the power of forcibly feeding her, but I should only exercise that power where it was necessary to do so. I should in the first instance rely upon the power to discharge temporarily, and I am bound to say, after some examination of the facts, that I think the power would be effective.

Lord Hugh Cecil: Supposing the prisoner were still in a state of collapse?

Mr. McKenna: If the prisoner were still in a state of collapse she could not escape, and if she were in a healthy condition and able to escape the police would know where she was taken in the first instance, and the particular house which she might not leave as a place of residence except after notice.

Mr. Snowden: Police picketting the house!

Mr. McKenna: It is quite possible. I want to enforce the law, and I am not alarmed by any statement that the police will be picketting the house. I shall do my utmost to enforce the law.

Sir A. Cripps then further emphasised his point that the conditions of licence should be statutory, and Mr. McKenna argued that they should be left to the discretion of the Home Secretary.

Lord Robert Cecil said that if the Bill had been sent upstairs to Grand Committee the Government would certainly have been defeated on this point. It was a very dangerous doctrine that such wide discretion should be left to the Home Secretary.

I cannot think, he proceeded, that there can be the least doubt that conditions of this kind affecting the liberty of the subject ought to be in the Act of Parliament. The Home Secretary says they will be in the Official Report. So they will be. But the Home Secretary may leave office to-morrow—it is well to look facts in the face—and his successor would not be bound by anything he said this evening. There would not be the slightest control by this House, or the slightest reason for this House to suppose that the conditions the Home Secretary had laid down would be enforced. I ask the House for once to exercise its own judgment.

The Home Secretary says that that would fetter unduly his discretion. That is what I desire to do. I do not think that the Home Secretary should have unfettered discretion to impose any conditions he or his successor may choose in a very serious matter such as this.

Lord Robert Cecil was still speaking when the debate stood adjourned until the following day.

SECOND READING DEBATE, APRIL 2, 1913 DIVISION LISTS—

Mr. Keir Hardie's Amendment

The following are the names of the eight members who voted in favour of Mr. Keir Hardie's amendment to Mr. McKenna's Prisoners' Discharge Bill, calling upon the House to decline to proceed with any coercive measure against Suffragist prisoners until the Prime Minister redeemed his pledge to make the Government responsible for the further progress of a Woman Suffrage measure that had passed its second reading:—

Craig, Ernest (U.)	Smith, Albert (Lab.)
Duncan, C. (Lab.)	Snowden, Philip (Lab.)
Hardie, J. Keir (Lab.)	Thomas, J. H. (Lab.)
Rutherford, Watson (U.)	Thorne, William (Lab.)

Tellers—Mr. T. Richardson and Mr. O'Grady.

There was a majority of 335 against Mr. Hardie's amendment.

Those Who Voted Against the Second Reading of the Bill

Banbury, Sir Frederick George (U.)	Locker-Lampson, O. (U.)
Barlow, Montague (U.)	M'Curdy, Charles Albert (L.)
Booth, Frederick Handel (L.)	M'Neill, Ronald (U.)
Bridgeman, W. Clive (U.)	Markham, Sir Arthur Basil (L.)
Cassel, Felix (U.)	Mason, David M. (L.)
Cecil, Evelyn (U.)	Peto, Basil Edward (U.)
Clyde, J. Avon (U.)	Randles, Sir John S. (U.)
Craig E. (U.)	Rees, Sir J. D. (U.)
Dalrymple, Viscount (U.)	Rutherford, Watson (U.)
Dickson, Rt. Hon. C. Scott (U.)	Smith, Albert (Lab.)
Duncan, C. (Lab.)	Snowden, Philip (Lab.)
Eyres-Monsell, B. M. (U.)	Steel-Maitland, A. D. (U.)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (U.)	Talbot, Lord E. (U.)
Fell, Arthur (U.)	Taylor, John W. (Lab.)
Fletcher, John Samuel (U.)	Terrell, G. (U.)
Goldstone, Frank (Lab.)	Terrell, H. (U.)
Haddock, George Bahr (U.)	Thomas, James Henry (Lab.)
Hall, D. B. (U.)	Thorne, William (Lab.)
Hardie, J. Keir (Lab.)	Whyte, A. F. (L.)
Hickman, Col. T. E. (U.)	Wolmer, Viscount (U.)
Hope, Major J. A. (U.)	Wright, Henry Fitzherbert (U.)
Hume-Williams, William E. (U.)	

Tellers—Mr. T. Richardson and Mr. O'Grady.

There was a majority of 296 in favour of the second reading.

A RECORDER'S VIEW OF THE BILL

Commenting last Monday at Leicester Quarter Sessions on the new Coercion Bill, the Recorder, Mr. M. C. Buszard, K.C., said to the Grand Jury that this cat and mouse legislation was entirely antagonistic to all that they had ever known of the administration of the criminal law. Mr. McKenna was placed in a difficult position, but the comparison with the Penal Servitude Acts did not hold good. A convict was released before the expiry of his sentence because of good behaviour; under this Act people would be released because they behaved badly and set the law at defiance. The ordinary prisoner was law-abiding compared with these people. There was nothing to prevent them saying: "I should like a week in the country; the weather looks as if it was going to be fine; I will have a week's starvation."

"WE ARE NOT ORDINARY CITIZENS"

Mrs. Pankhurst's Speech in Her Defence—Old Bailey, April 3, 1913

My lord, and gentlemen of the jury:—When you were empanelled, gentlemen, it came into my mind that I might in justice object to each of you as you took your places, because in this country it is the accepted axiom that every Englishman is tried by his peers if he is accused of breaches of the law. No woman is tried by her peers. You are of one sex—I am of another. But I decided not to challenge your appointment, not because I would not for a moment expect that my objection would be upheld, but because, after all, these trials afford us an opportunity, at a very big price that women are paying, to try to get into the minds of men who try us, who are human as we are, something of what women feel about their condition, about the laws to which they have to submit—although they have no part in the making of those laws—and what they feel about the administration of those laws, if, unhappily, they are brought into conflict with the law.

My lord, I propose to say a few words about the prosecution, the way in which it has been conducted, a little about the speech of the Counsel for the Prosecution. Mr. Bodkin said, and quite rightly, that I stand here accused of a serious charge, a serious crime, and that the whole situation is very serious. I entirely agree with him. I could have wished that in his speech he had relied upon the actual facts to be proved upon my speeches, and upon the general seriousness of this situation, unprecedented in the history of this country, where a very large number of women—women against whom no word can be said as to their moral character or their ordinary conduct in life—come in conflict with the law, and consent to serve long sentences of imprisonment.

"I have Shared the Dangers those Women have Faced"

But Counsel made certain remarks of a personal kind, and made certain suggestions which I think were unworthy of him and unworthy of the seriousness of the case which he had to lay before the jury. He referred to me—or rather, his words conveyed the suggestion that I am a woman riding about in my motor car, inciting other women to do acts which entail imprisonment and great suffering, and that I, perhaps, indulging in some curious sort of pleasure, am protected, or think myself protected, from serious consequences. Mr. Bodkin knows perfectly well that I have shared the dangers those women have faced and that I have been to prison three times. He himself was instrumental in sending me last time I went to prison; and two of the sentences I served for the whole period, for trifling acts of damage. And when there I was treated like an ordinary criminal—searched, put into prison clothes, in solitary confinement, eating prison food, conforming to all the rules which I think are abominable rules imposed upon any women who have broken the laws of this country in the ordinary way. I hate speaking of personal matters, but I think I owe it to myself and the movement—because many of these suggestions have been made not only here but in the House of Commons—I owe it to myself to say that I own no motor-car and never have owned one. The motor-car referred to is a motor-car used just as any of you gentlemen who may be tradesmen have a cart or carriage to carry on your business. The organisation to which I belong own the motor-car for the ordinary propaganda work of the organisation. In that motor-car, or in cars lent to me by friends, I have gone about my work as a speaker in the Woman Suffrage movement. I would like to say in passing, that it is very difficult in this country for a woman to own a motor-car unless she has inherited property. There is only one trade that I know of in which women earn enough to buy motor-cars themselves, and that is the abominable trade of ministering to the vicious pleasures of rich men. Then, indeed, women are able to purchase and own motors. It was said in the House of Commons quite recently—and I feel it due to myself, since motor-cars have been mentioned and suggestions made of plenty of money for personal purposes—it was said in the House of Commons in a debate, in which Members of Parliament tried to find out how to deal with the militant Suffragists, that some of us were making incomes of £1,000 or £1,500 a year out of it. That is untrue, absolutely. There is no woman in our movement making any income like that, and speaking for myself, I say that my part in the movement has cost me a considerable part of my income, because I had to surrender—and I take no special credit for it, I could not do otherwise—a very considerable part of my income in order to be free to do what I considered to be my duty in this movement. It is hardly fitting for Counsel, who must forgive me if I remind them that they are not prosecuting me solely for a love to preserve public order—it is not fitting to bring in suggestions of this kind in so serious a matter.

Before I leave Counsel's speech I should like to say that in concluding his speech he suggested to the jury that it would be their duty to end this impossible state of affairs by finding me guilty, and by thus making it possible for his lordship to decide what punishment should be inflicted. I fear he held out to you false hopes if he led you to believe, gentlemen, that your verdict would possibly end this serious situation.

Inaccuracy of Police Reports

Now, I want to explain to you, my lord, why I detained the court by cross-examining the witnesses for the police who had made reports of my speeches. It was not that I wished in any way to question the substantial accuracy of their reports as to the line I took in my speeches Perhaps you may not understand my motive, but it was this: It does not matter very much in my case whether I prove that verbal inaccuracies occur in these reports, but it might be of very serious import in other cases You may have to try a case where the actual expression used, where the actual words used were so important that someone's liberty, someone's future might depend upon an absolutely accurate report of every word which the accused used. That is not so in my case, but I do venture to say, my lord, that it is a very, very serious thing that gentlemen against whom I have nothing whatever to say as individuals, nothing to say against their desire to be accurate, should be employed by the authorities of this country to deal with very delicate reports—reports that might involve very serious consequences to those people accused—gentlemen who obviously from their training are not competent to make absolutely accurate reports of what people have said. One of the witnesses under my cross-examination showed that his vocabulary, his idea of the meaning of words, was entirely different from that accepted by ordinary people.

"Not Wicked or Malicious"

Now I want to address myself to my defence. I pleaded not guilty. I am not a lawyer, but I pleaded not guilty because in the indictment I am described as having wickedly and maliciously incited women to do certain acts. I am not a wicked or a malicious person, neither are any of the women who responded, if they did respond, to my incitement. And therefore I felt myself justified, although I am prepared here and now to accept responsibility for every one of the speeches I have made, to accept responsibility for the incitement with which I am charged, I say, looking to what I have done from the very highest standpoint of justice, I am not guilty of having wickedly and maliciously incited women to break the law or to destroy property. It is a very serious thing, my lord, when a large number of people, quite respectable people, ordinary people, naturally law-abiding people, people of upright life, come to hold the law in contempt, come to seriously make up their mind that they are justified in breaking the law. The whole of good government rests upon acceptance of the law, upon respect of the law, and I say to you seriously, my lord, and gentlemen of the jury, that women of intelligence, women of training, women of upright life, have for many years ceased to respect the laws of this country. It is an absolute fact; and when you look into the laws of this country as they affect women, it is not to be wondered at.

In the witness-box yesterday there stood a little girl—a little girl of twelve years of age, intelligent, the kind of little child who, certainly to women, appeals very closely as needing protecting, as needing to be shielded and guarded against all kinds of difficulties and dangers—immature, not fit to face life on her own account. Yet by the laws of this country as they exist to-day—and I find no man either in Parliament or out of Parliament anxious to alter the law—by the law of this country, that little girl is marriageable, considered old enough to be a mother of children, considered fit by the law to accept responsibilities. To women that is a wrong so intolerable, so dreadful, that we feel ourselves justified in using very strong measures indeed in order to get power to alter matters.

"Women are Revolted when They Compare the Laws"

I am here, and may be sent, if you find me guilty, and if his lordship pleases, to a very long term of penal servitude. I believe I am right in saying that the maximum punishment that can be inflicted upon me would be a sentence of fourteen years' penal servitude. That is the kind of law which is framed to deal with persons who are found guilty of injury to property. Women are revolted when they compare that law with the law which makes the maximum punishment for injury to the moral and physical well-being of a little girl two years' imprisonment. We think there is no crime greater than a crime the perpetration of which has corrupted the physical life and the moral life of a little girl; our whole training as women has made us feel that. We have been taught that our moral integrity and our physical integrity we must hold dearer than all else in life; yet we find that when men make laws to deal with offences against children who are being trained to feel like that, we find that in framing the law for the punishment of certain offences the maximum penalty is two years' penal servitude.

I don't want, gentlemen, to weary you with reciting all these laws which are so intolerable to women, but I do want to refer quite briefly to a law which every mother in the country who has thought seriously upon this matter, and who realises what the law is, feels also intolerable. I am a mother of children myself, and I don't want you to imagine that there are not many women who have been fortunate. I have been fortunate in my marriage, because my husband never invoked the power the law gave him against me, or interfered with my relationship with my children. But it is possible under the law that women have to submit to—the law made by men—for a woman, a mother, to be deeply wounded or injured in her tenderest feelings towards her children, because married mothers, by the law of this country, are not constituted equal legal guardians of their children with their fathers. And women for many years, my lord, have been trying to get equal power with the fathers over their children. We know the power of the vote is needed to get that equal power. Then, there is a law upon which a Royal Commission has been sitting for some time past—the law of divorce. The law of divorce in this country is the most scandalous law in Europe as it affects women. Its inequality—it is intolerable! Talk about revolution and rebellion! Why, that law of itself, once women are convinced that rebellion is necessary to alter it, is sufficient justification for any revolution that women may undertake.

The Administration of the Law

Then there are other laws, the laws of inheritance and so on, which I might recite to you as ground for this impatience which women are feeling. But I want to go on as rapidly as I can. I want to say a few words, very serious words, having dealt with the laws themselves, about the administration of the law. Now, my lord, I recognise that this is a very difficult thing for me to do, and yet I must find courage to do it, and I hope you will bear with me, because for me and for thousands of women whom I feel I represent here to-day, it is a very burning question. The laws we have are inadequate to deal with certain grievances and injustices to women, but in addition to the inadequacy of the law, we are satisfied that the administration of the laws, such as they are, inadequate as they are, is also very inadequate. I was a very young woman when my attention was called to this in a very painful way. I am the widow of a barrister, and I am glad to say, living in perfect harmony and comradeship with my husband, I had an opportunity of learning a good deal more about the administration of the law than ordinary average women have; and when I was a very young woman, not long married, the mother of young children, a very painful thing occurred. An Assizes was opened, and the next morning one of the judges of Assize did not take his place in court; and there were cases being tried at those Assizes, cases of wretched men charged with abominable offences against women.

A Discussion with the Judge

The Judge here interrupted to say: Mrs. Pankhurst, I am very loth to interrupt you, but there must be some limit to the proprieties to be observed by a woman in your position. I am anxious that you should have a fair trial—which I am sure you have had—but you must realise that the only question the jury is concerned with is: Are you or are you not guilty of the offence charged against you? I must ask you to observe the proper decorum upon you and confine yourself to that.

Mrs. Pankhurst: My lord, I cannot accept you as a judge of what is decorum on my part. It must be perfectly obvious to you and to the court that I am not saying these things in any light spirit. After all, you, my lord, and gentlemen of the jury, are probably going, if I am convicted, to send me to what in all possibility will be my death, and I ask you to indulge me.

The Judge having represented that observations dealing with any particular instance had no possible bearing on her case,

Mrs. Pankhurst said: I was reading a case the other day where a man was charged with attempting to murder his wife. When he defended himself—or rather he was defended by Counsel—Counsel was allowed to plead in mitigation of that man's punishment that his wife was an immoral woman. No evidence was produced to prove it. He received a very light sentence because that was taken into consideration. Now, I put it to you, my lord, that when I am addressing the jury I have a right to tell them what led me to stand in this dock—what experience has brought me to make the speeches that they have heard; and I ask you to trust me not to use names. I do not want to blacken any human being's character, but I do ask you to allow me to try to see into the minds of these gentlemen, to make

them feel my point of view, and the point of view of all these other women.

Some further discussion on the point took place, at the end of which Mrs. Pankhurst asked the Judge:—

Is motive not allowed to come into a prisoner's defence?

The Judge: Motive you have already told the jury. As a matter of fact, your saying that you were not wicked—I think that was your expression—is immaterial; what your motive was for committing a crime does not go to the question whether you committed it. Besides, it is not in the indictment, to begin with, and I am going to call the jury's attention to that.

Mrs. Pankhurst here quoted from a document: ". . . Within the jurisdiction of the said court unlawfully and wickedly did incite . . ."

Mr. Bodkin: I beg your pardon, but that is not the indictment the jury are trying, believe me.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Am I to be tried on this other indictment?

Mr. Bodkin: Only on the indictment in relation to the explosion at Walton Heath, which charges you with counselling, inciting, and procuring persons whose names are unknown to commit that offence.

The Judge: The words of the indictment are that you did "counsel, procure, move, incite, and command the said persons"—that means the persons who committed this felony, who used gunpowder to damage a building—" whose names are unknown, to commit the said felony."

Having consulted her solicitor on this point, Mrs. Pankhurst then continued: Gentlemen, since I am not allowed to use that word "wickedly," the word "malicious" will serve my purpose. I am endeavouring to satisfy you that I am not in any way influenced or actuated by any malicious feeling towards any person whatever, not even towards those persons against whom women have ground for complaint, or members of the Government, or Mr. Lloyd George himself, whose house is said to have been blown up. I am solely animated by a desire to make these sacrifices and these acts unnecessary. With all deference to his lordship, I appeal to you gentlemen, who are to be, so far as our life is concerned, in very much the same position that the Great Judge of us all will be when we all, great or small, have to appear before Him, when every great motive will be taken into account.

"What About Those Who Incite Us?"

I am charged with inciting. Well, I say—"If it is right I should be charged with inciting, what about those who have incited us?" Those who incited us should be in the dock by our side. You have heard my speeches read. You have heard extracts from those speeches in which I pointed out to my audiences that we have been directly incited by members of the present Government to do acts for which I am to be punished for inciting women to do. How is it these members are not in the dock? They are equally guilty. Mr. Hobhouse has said women cannot have votes if the women continue in this agitation. There are other people who ought to be here; they are the guilty people. In the last few days speeches have been made about Ulster, that men are drilling in clubs and preparing for civil war, and threats are being issued that Ireland is to be drowned in blood if the Home Rule Bill is passed, and yet these people, who have incited in the way I refer to, are being honoured.

"Like Ordinary Citizens"

We women are being told that it is our place to obey; it is our place, as Counsel has said, to behave like ordinary citizens. When I interjected in the course of Counsel's speech, "What are women to do unless they agitate?" Counsel retorted that women should behave themselves as ordinary citizens. We are not ordinary citizens! No—we are not ordinary citizens! We have not the powers of ordinary citizens, powers possessed by men who are able to get redress of their grievances by ordinary and constitutional means; but, even deprived of these constitutional means, we do not break the laws like ordinary citizens, who are men. In one of my speeches I referred to the fact that in the prisons of this city provision is made for five thousand men law-breakers, and for only seven hundred women law-breakers. What are women to do? What are we to do? I have been told that I may not refer to the persecution we have received in the administration of the law; I may not tell you of a judge of Assize who was found dead in a brothel——

Another Intervention by the Judge

His Lordship: I think you have been guilty of a shameful want of decorum in that observation.

Mrs. Pankhurst: But it is true, my lord.

His Lordship: You have not loyally abided by the undertaking you gave and by the limits I laid down to which you should go. You are doing yourself no good, allow me to tell you.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Gentlemen of the Jury, I want you to understand how women fared before the Commission on Divorce. A gentleman occupying a high place in the administration of the divorce laws, expressed opinions with regard to the equality of divorce which are repugnant to thousands of people. I want you to realise that vital point. And now, about the punishment which is inflicted. Some of our daughters are sent to terms of punishment which we say are too long. I was sent to Holloway Prison for the first time for six weeks, for breaking a pane of glass worth three shillings. I was classed as an ordinary prisoner, and punished as an ordinary prisoner, whilst a man who had occupied a high position was sent for six weeks in the first division for cruelty to several little girls. That is one of our main reasons for taking up this agitation; it is the main reason for my saying what I have said.

Juries that Refused to Convict

So long as you allow this sort of thing to go on, the women are being driven to take the law into their own hands and seek by various means they have in their power to change these things. The women take no part in the forming of the laws and the administration of the laws, and so wide a gulf is set between women's failings and men's failings on moral matters that that in itself is justification for what we are doing. There was a time in the history of this country when the laws became very obnoxious to masses of people, who at that time of the day had not a vote; and there came a time when it was impossible to find a jury to convict people found guilty of breaches of the law, because the punishments were so terrible, and they were out of accordance with public opinion upon the question. In those days juries acquitted when the penalty of hanging was imposed for small offences, and juries returned verdicts of not guilty in every case. We know that the same state of affairs exists in Ireland, where it is difficult at times to get juries to convict. Now, look at the position of women to-day; look at the position women occupy in reference to the laws which affect them very closely, and I ask, is it right of you to assist in punishing women who are striving in desperation to take the stand they have? All through this agitation against these women no one can find one word against their character. Over a thousand women have gone to prison, have suffered, and have come out injured in health, and weakened, so that they could hardly stand. I come from the bedside of one of my daughters, who has come out of Holloway Prison, where she had been committed for two months. She has hunger-struck in the prison; she has submitted herself for more than five weeks to the horrible torture of forcible feeding, she has lost two stones in weight, and she is now so weak that she cannot get out of bed.

"We Could Get Notoriety More Cheaply"

I want to say to you, gentlemen, that is the amount of punishment you are inflicting upon me and upon other women who may be brought before you, and I ask you if you are content to send an incalculable number of women—I speak to you as representing other members of juries—if you are prepared to go on doing this kind of thing indefinitely? That is what is going to happen. There is not the slightest doubt about it. I think you have seen enough in this present case to convince you we are not women who are notoriety seekers. We could get it much more cheaply than by this method. We women are convinced that this is the only way in which we can obtain our end. A clergyman, a London clergyman, has said that sixty per cent. of the women in his parish—the married women in his parish—were bread-winners supporting their husbands as well as their children. When you think of the wages women are paid, when you think what that means, I ask you to take this question very seriously. Only this morning I have had information brought to me which could be supported by a sworn affidavit, that there is in this country—in this city—an organisation under which young women and even children are being purchased and trained to minister to the vicious pleasures of men who ought to know better. These are the things which have made us women determined to go on, and face it, and try to put an end to the thing. If you convict me, gentlemen, if you find me guilty, I tell you quite honestly and frankly, whether the sentence be a long sentence or a short sentence, I shall not submit to it. The moment I leave this Court, if I am sent to prison, whether to penal servitude or to a lighter term, I shall not submit to it. Whatever my sentence may be, from the moment I leave this Court, I shall quite deliberately refuse to take food; I shall join the women already in Holloway on strike. I shall come out of prison, dead or alive, at the earliest possible moment, and once out again, as soon as I am physically strong, I shall enter into this fight again. Life is very dear to all of us, and I am not seeking—as was said by the Home Secretary—to commit suicide. I do not want to commit suicide. I want to see the women enfranchised, and I want to live to see it.

"Have You the Right to Judge Women?"

Gentlemen, I would ask you to put this question to yourselves. Are you, as human beings, going to condemn another human being to death, because that is what it means? Can you throw the first stone? Have you the right to judge women? If I were a man I would take up the position of a judge in Ireland, who, when a girl charged with child-murder was placed before him, said, "Where is the man?" and since the man was not forthcoming (because under the laws in this country the man is not forthcoming, although equally guilty), he refused to pass sentence. That is what I ask you to do in this case. You have not the right in human justice, you have not the right by the constitution of this country to try me. You know I should not be standing here as a criminal if I had the right you possess. If I had a voice in the controlling of the taxes we are called upon to pay, I would not be standing here. I say to you that it is a very serious state of things. I say to you, my lord, it is a very serious situation that women who have devoted years of their lives in striving to repair some of the mistakes made should be here. Men are responsible for the present state of affairs, and I put it to you that it is a very serious situation. You are not accustomed to deal with people like me in the ordinary discharge of your duties, but you are called upon to deal with the people who break the laws from selfish motives. I break the law from no selfish motive. I have no personal motive, nor have any of the other women who have gone from this Court during the last few weeks like sheep to the slaughter. Not one of these women would be law-breakers—but they believe that this is the only path, and that the welfare of humanity demands this sacrifice. They believe that the horrible evils which ravage our civilisation will never be removed till we get the vote.

A Verdict on the Whole Agitation

The fountain of life is being poisoned and lives are being ruined because of bad education, because of the low standard of morals. What are mothers to do if they are subjected to one of the most horrible diseases that ravage men? I say to you, gentlemen, in this court, how are you going to alter it? How is it going to be in the future, and what is going to put a stop to it? There is only one way to break down this agitation. It is not by passing legislation which was referred to in the House of Commons last night, when a second reading was given to the Bill giving greater power of coercion and oppression to the Government; it is not by deporting us or by sending us to jail—it is by giving us justice. So I appeal to you, gentlemen, in this case of mine, to give a verdict not only in my case, but on the whole agitation. I ask you to find me "Not guilty" of malicious incitement to breach of the law. These are my last words. My incitement is not malicious. I say to you men, you have a constitutional means to get redress of your grievances. I am not guilty of malicious incitement, and I appeal to you for the welfare of the country and for the welfare of the race to return a verdict of "Not guilty" in this case which you are called upon to try.

AFTER THE VERDICT

Mrs. Pankhurst's Address to the Judge

After the foreman of the jury had pronounced the verdict, Mrs. Pankhurst addressed the judge as follows: The jury have found me guilty with a strong recommendation to mercy, and I do not see, since motive is not taken into account in human laws, that they could do otherwise after your direction. But since motive is not taken into account in human laws and since I, whose motives are not ordinary motives, am about to be sentenced by you to the punishment that is accorded to people whose motives are selfish motives, I have only this to say: If it was impossible for a different verdict to be found, if it is your duty to sentence me as you will do presently, then I want to say to you as a private citizen, and to the jury as private citizens, that I, standing here, found guilty by the laws of my countrymen, say to you it is your duty as private citizens to do what you can to put an end to this intolerable state of affairs.

I put that duty upon you, and I want to say that whatever the sentence you pass upon me I shall do what is humanly possible to terminate that sentence at the earliest possible moment. I have no sense of guilt. I feel I have been doing my duty. I look upon myself as a prisoner of war, and I am under no moral obligation to conform in any way or to accept or consent in any way to the sentence imposed upon me. I shall take the desperate step other women have taken. It is obvious to you that the struggle will be a very unequal one, but I shall make it. I shall make it as long as I have an ounce of strength left in me, or any life left in me. I shall fight, fight, fight from the moment I enter the prison to struggle against overwhelming odds. I shall resist the doctors when the attempt is made. I was sentenced last May in this court to nine months' imprisonment; I remained in prison six weeks.

[Having described in graphic terms what the hunger strike involved, she proceeded.] Last night in the House of Commons some alternative was discussed, or rather, some additional power. Isn't it a strange thing, my lord, that the laws that have sufficed to restrain men through all history in this country do not suffice now to restrain women—decent women, honest women, honourable women? I do want you to realise that I am not repining about the punishment. I have invited it; my speeches have invited it. I deliberately broke the law, not hysterically, not emotionally, but of set, serious purpose, because I honestly feel it is the only way. And now I put the responsibility of what is to follow, my lord, upon you as a private citizen, and the gentlemen of the jury as private citizens, and on all the men in this court. I want you to ask yourselves when are you, with your citizen powers, going to end this intolerable situation? For the women that I represent here, for the women who, in response to my incitement, have faced these terrible consequences and have broken the law—for them I want to say I am going to-day not to fail them, but to face this as they faced it; to go through with it.

I know they will go on with this fight whether I live or whether I die. This movement will go on and go on until women have the rights of citizenship in this country as we have in our Colonies, as they will have all over the civilised world before this woman's war is ended. That is all I have to say.

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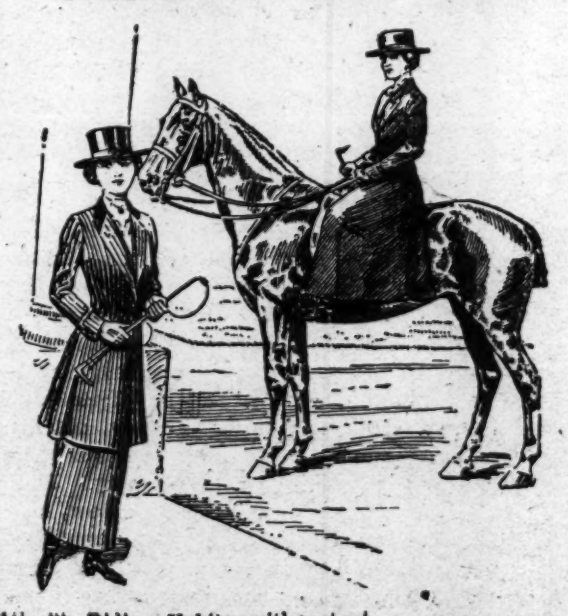

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THREE BOOKS ABOUT WOMEN

Three books about the modern woman make one feel rather restive: are we really such a weird portion of humanity that we have to be set apart and studied in this solemn fashion? It is positively depressing to find that Prof. Earl Barnes, who wrote so brilliantly about children, can be so dreary when he writes about women.* In the first two chapters, "What it Means to be a Woman" and "Woman's Heritage," we have all the old arguments that Sir Almroth Wright and others have urged. It is always men who are so sure that women's physical differences mean disabilities, and who insist on her weakness; and yet on page 116 Prof. Barnes gives us a picture of a woman—

> who married, about 1850, and went to live on a farm with her husband. They had small means, but she brought $700 to the altar, which was more than he possessed in ready capital. . . . Meanwhile, the woman cooked for the family and the hired men, scrubbed, and washed, and mended. She strained and skimmed the milk from a dozen cows, and churned the butter; she fed the calves, cared for the hens, dug in the garden, gathered the vegetables, did the family sewing, and stole fragments of time for her flower-beds. Her hours were from five in the morning until nine at night, 365 days in the year, with no half-days or Sundays off. Incidentally, she read her Bible, maintained religious exercises in the village, provided the church with a carpet, and kept the church clean. She upheld a moral standard toward which men only weakly struggled.

We do not know how Prof. Barnes reconciles this case, which he gives as typical, with the generalities of his first chapter.

In Chapters VII. and VIII., which deal with political life, there is much that some women could read with profit. There is an outline of the subjects that should be thought out and studied by all voters, and there are certain facts about the feminist movement in America and the influence of women in those States where they have the vote, that we have not met with in such clear form before. In his conclusion, Prof. Barnes simply reiterates the cry of sex, and looks on woman as the child-bearer in countries where labour is needed. But in these old lands of ours, where there is over-population, and where the complexities of civilisation offer other careers than child-bearing for women, it is not necessary, and not desirable, to make this the one and only ideal.

If Prof. Barnes has taken woman seriously, Mrs. Jane Johnstone Christie has approached the feminine problem with a lengthy and religious solemnity.† With relentless pen she sketches the wickedness of man and the sad fate of woman. She has the courage of her convictions and tasks Christianity in all its forms with having forsaken the steps of its Founder, and she concludes with calm assurance that the twentieth century is going to be the woman's century, and that the forces are already gathering for a bloodless Armageddon. We admire Mrs. Christie's logical thoroughness and hard-hitting, but we confess to some doubts as to her minor illustrations, though she acknowledges her indebtedness to "Mr. Darwin." Even though it is true that the male bird has more brilliant plumage and is generally larger, yet the female spider is often more strongly marked, and thinks nothing of eating up her small and insignificant male. All theorists can find analogies in nature and texts from the Bible to support their special dogmas.

A thoroughly sensible and useful book for the daughter as serf (if any such still exist!) is "The Upholstered Cage."‡ In the spring of last year, it seems, Miss Pitcairn Knowles delivered two addresses in London on "Unmarried Daughters"; they aroused interest and correspondence, and form the basis of this book. The ordinary trials and pitfalls of girls are dealt with frankly and fully, and then such remedies as emigration and market-gardening are discussed. There are no politics and no eugenics; it is a safe book for a Christmas present to any girl in an old-fashioned household. To do any great good the book should be read by the selfish and conventional fathers and mothers of the middle-class that it attacks; but those whom life has failed to educate by forty, won't be educated by books. And if you turn sheep back from one lane, they will only run helter-skelter after one another up the next. So to the commonplace girl give this book, leave the commonplace parent alone, and for those fathers and mothers who do think and move forward, try the stronger meat of Prof. Barnes or Mrs. Christie's books.

OUR CARTOONIST

Our readers are aware that the clever artist, "A Patriot," who draws the weekly cartoons in Votes for Women, is Mr. A. Pearse. We have just received an interesting little book on social questions as they affect the industrial classes, which contains eight coloured illustrations by Mr. Pearse. One of the cleverest of these is "How Many More?" in which certain male persons who are prominent in the political world, and whose names occur pretty frequently in Votes for Women, are pictured, like "Uncle Tom Cobley and all," seated on a much-enduring grey mare. The author is Mr. James Glass, and the book ("Better Times for Working People") is published by Ormiston and Glass, Snow Hill, London, E.C., price 7d.

* "Woman in Modern Society." By Earl Barnes. Cassell. 3s. 6d. net.

† "The Advance of Woman. Jane Johnstone Christie. Lippincott. 6s. net.

‡ "The Upholstered Cage." By Josephine Pitcairn Knowles. Hodder & Stoughton, Price 6s.

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MARJORIE HASLER

It is with deep regret and sorrow that we have to record the death of a brave woman and comrade—Marjorie Hasler. Having contracted measles, she died of heart failure in London last Monday week; and there is no doubt that her lowered vitality, consequent upon the treatment she had received when engaged in militant action, was a prime factor in her death at so early an age. Miss Hasler was only twenty-five when she died, but her career as a militant Suffragist was an eventful and honourable one. She joined the Irishwomen's Franchise League in July, 1910. In November, 1910, she formed one of the deputation to the Prime Minister on the day afterwards known as "Black Friday" on account of the brutal ill-treatment of the women at the hands of the police. It was then that she sustained injuries to her head and back that resulted in a weakened spine and lowered vitality generally. In November, 1911, Miss Hasler was sentenced to fourteen days' im-

prisonment for window-breaking in London; and in July, 1912, to six months' in Dublin for a similar offence. Of this sentence she served four months before she was released in response to a petition of the jurymen who convicted her. Everyone who knew Marjorie Hasler can speak of her pluck, her gentleness, her passion for the Cause in whose service she died.

A Personal Appreciation

(By an Irish fellow-prisoner.)

When, last June, eight Irishwomen made a militant protest against exclusion from the Home Rule Bill, Marjorie Hasler was one of those charged with considerable damage to Government property. We served together over a month in Mountjoy—half of my sentence, which was shorter, being served before she joined us, with three companions, on July 12. There can be little doubt that the long confinement impaired her already weakened constitution, her bruised, though robust, frame. She was accustomed to a vigorous outdoor life; though I never heard her complain, I knew that she suffered from recurrent backache and headache, the remnant of Black Friday blows, and that at times the vibration set up by a prisoner pacing her cell above, the continuous banging of doors and rattling of locks, characteristic of prison routine, provoked an agonising backache which deprived her of sleep. Yet she, with her fellow-prisoners, refused to allow the League or their friends to agitate for their release, being determined to serve the full period uncomplainingly.

In prison we became intimate as only fellow-captives can. Marjorie Hasler's was a strong and lovable nature. The youngest of our little band, her radiant gaiety, her fearless strength, were a source of cheer and comfort through the inevitable worries and discomforts of life behind bars. Nothing daunted and nothing depressed her save the sorrow or pain of her fellow-fighters. I remember her acute distress at the news of her friend, Nurse Pitfield, passing away, her fiery protests to officialdom against the arbitrary and vindictive sentences of penal servitude on Mary Leigh and Gladys Evans. Her memorial on their behalf was so strongly worded that it was returned to her for modification ere it could pass the censor! Only a few weeks after her release she again offered herself for militant service whenever she should be needed. It was characteristic of her to write, when she heard that she was to receive a medal for prison service, requesting that the date be placed high up, so that there would be room for dates of future imprisonments. Whether selling papers in the streets, poster-parading to advertise a meeting, working dainty cushion-covers for our Prison Stall, holding off roughs that threatened to overturn a lorry at an open-air meeting, or planning a militant raid on Government territory, Marjorie Hasler put her best equally into all that she did and scorned to count the cost, deeming it rather a privilege to give all that she had, even to her life, in the cause she loved with all the concentrated passion of her fine, free spirit. We are the richer for having known her and suffered with her; and the remembrance of her rare personality will endure long after the fight for the vote is fought and won, a lasting tribute to the spirit of militancy at its best. Requiescat.

Hanna Sheehy Skeffington.

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The Paper can be obtained from all newsagents and bookstalls.

For quotations for Advertisements, apply to the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

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A March, led by **MRS. DE FONBLANQUE**, will be made on **BRIGHTON**, by the Marchers' "Qui Vive" Corps on May 15th.

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All Suffragists and friends of the Women's Cause are cordially invited to rally in Horsham on May 14th, at 11 a.m., or to join the ranks *en route*.

Marchers are asked to defray their own expenses, and offers of hospitality for them along the route are invited.

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FRIDAY, APRIL 11, 1913.

CLEAN HANDS

The events of the past week are astounding. Mrs. Pankhurst has been sentenced to three years' penal servitude, and the reply of her party has been to burn down two country houses, the grand stand of a racecourse, to blow up part of a railway station, a portion of a goods train, to fire several other mansions and public buildings, to cut telegraphic and telephonic communication in three places, to injure several priceless works of art, to render indecipherable a mass of correspondence, and to commit other acts of defiance. Faced with this state of anarchy, the only action of the Government is to hurry forward in the House of Commons their Cat and Mouse Bill for the intermittent detention of Suffragettes.

In our leading article last week we demonstrated the certain failure of this Bill. We now go further and state unequivocally our conviction that no form of coercion applied by the present Government has any likelihood of reducing, still less of stopping, the revolutionary campaign. This view is day by day gaining ground among every section of the community.

Why? Because it is realised that the Government do not come into this business with clean hands.

It is one of the principles of English jurisprudence that anyone who comes into a Court of Law to claim justice from one who has wronged him must come with clean hands. If he does not do so, if his own dealings in the transaction are besmirched with fraud and dishonesty, he is not entitled to a favourable judgment. Where, further, it can be shown that his own fraudulent behaviour is the original cause of all the trouble, the case goes overwhelmingly against him.

This principle is not, like some legal maxims, a lawyers' quibble; it is sound common sense. It is founded upon fundamental ideas of morality embedded in the human heart. Moreover, it is not confined in its application to the courts of law; it applies equally to the ordinary transactions between human beings and to the world of politics. Public opinion will never award the victory to that party in a quarrel who in its judgment has been responsible by double-dealing for bringing the quarrel about.

In the present instance the protagonists are the Government and the revolutionary Suffragists. The weapons of the former are the prisons, the law courts, the legislature, and all the machinery of the administration. The weapons of the latter may be summed up in a single word—anarchy. Under all ordinary circumstances public opinion would be universally and unreservedly on the side of a Government in its attempts to crush anarchy. It is an extraordinary fact that this is not the case to-day. However much public opinion may resent and detest the methods employed by the revolutionary Suffragists, it is by no means prepared to give its full support to the Government in its attempts to crush them. It realises that the Government have throughout played a despicable game. It sees clearly that the Government have been guilty of three distinct and serious classes of offences. They have broken the spirit of the Constitution. They have incited women to violence while deriding milder methods of agitation. They have been guilty of double-dealing and fraud.

They broke the spirit of the Constitution when they denied in the case of women the efficacy of the principle that taxation and representation must go together. They broke it again in the person of Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, by repeatedly refusing to see deputations of distinguished women who desired to place their case before them; by sending out against them on many occasions bodies of police to knock them about and subsequently to arrest them on the technical charge of obstruction. They broke it again by empowering successive Home Secretaries to treat the women, arrested for such technical offences as these, as ordinary criminals, and by meeting the heroic hunger strike with the beastly expedient of forcible feeding.

When the annals of this time come to be written, historians will stand aghast at the wanton incitement to violence offered by responsible Cabinet Ministers to women. It was the present Lord Gladstone, then Home Secretary, who in 1908 told women that "political dynamics were far more important than political argument," and that men had learnt "the necessity for establishing that *force majeure* which actuates and arms a Government for effective work." It was Mr. John Burns who, when women heckled him at his meeting, said that the "men had forced open the door at which women were now scratching." It was Lord Haldane who derided the earlier militancy (which is now generally approved), and described it as a "policy of pin pricks." It was Mr. Hobhouse who, in his now notorious speech, stated definitely that he set no store on any manifestation of a desire for the franchise, however great, if expressed constitutionally, and pointed triumphantly to the burning down of Nottingham Castle in 1831 and the tearing up of the railings in Hyde Park in 1867 as expressions which alone could be regarded as having any weight.

Finally, the Government have been guilty of the most wanton disregard of the common principles of honesty in dealing with the whole Woman Suffrage question. This crooked behaviour dates back to the time when the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone deliberately induced his followers to break their pledges to women in 1884; but its most flagrant illustration is of recent occurrence. The public have not forgotten how Mr. Asquith gave a solemn promise on behalf of the Government to give facilities as to time in 1912 for all stages of the Conciliation Bill, and how he stated that this promise would be fulfilled in the spirit as well as in the letter. They have not forgotten how a few months afterwards Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George "torpedoed" the Conciliation Bill by the announcement of a Manhood Suffrage Bill, with an impossible promise of a "free vote" on a Woman Suffrage amendment, nor how the women were "dished," the Bill withdrawn, and a still more worthless promise for 1913 given in its place.

These are facts which all but the most ultra-loyal party Liberals recognise as true, and that is why the Government are powerless to coerce the revolutionaries into submission. The only way out for them now is to give, even at this eleventh hour, in response to the importunity of the women, that which they have refused to give in response to the dictates of justice. If they fail to take this course, they must make way for some other Government which will deal more honestly and more wisely than they have done with the whole situation.

MARRIED WOMEN AND INCOME TAX

HOW WILL THE FINANCE BILL DEAL WITH THE QUESTION?

By Amy M. Hicks, M.A.

The Finance Bill for 1913 will soon be before the House of Commons, and many people want to know how the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposes to deal with the anomalous condition of the law relating to the taxation of married women. The famous Wilks case of last autumn is still fresh in the memory, and the imprisonment of Mr. Wilks for the refusal of *his wife* to pay her income tax showed up very clearly the absurdity of the position, which is briefly as follows: Although by the Married Women's Property Act of 1882 a wife has complete control over her separate income, and the husband has no power of taking a penny of it or of making her disclose its amount, yet by the Income Tax Act of 1842 he is still bound to make a return of the joint incomes, and is liable for income tax on the two.

Anyone can see that this places the husband in an unfair position, and apparently Mr. Lloyd George intends to relieve him from it. He stated in the House of Commons last October that he would "consider the question of amending the law so as to obviate the necessity for such action" as was taken against Mr. Wilks. With this promise of consideration from the Chancellor, we may safely leave those important persons, the husbands, to look after themselves.

It is the wives—those people who really don't matter, politically speaking—who are, as usual, likely to come off badly. There seems a general idea that the confusion of the law acts altogether to the disadvantage of the husband. Not at all; in the great majority of cases it is the wife who suffers. Few married women are in a position to earn an income on which income tax can be charged, and who can therefore, like Mrs. Wilks, refuse payment on the ground that their husbands are liable. A far greater number have a small income derived from investments on which (even when added to that of their husband) some abatement is due. But no claim is admitted that is sent in by a married woman; she simply does not count in the eyes of Somerset House. Any claim must come from the husband; the money is refunded to him, and if he chooses to keep it she has no means of getting a penny of it back. So that although married women are, in theory, not liable to taxation at all, yet income tax is regularly deducted from their dividends, and they have no means whatsoever of recovering it even when they should be quite exempt from taxation!

To show that this is no merely hypothetical grievance, I quote two typical cases from a number given in a pamphlet on "Married Women and Income Tax," published by the Women's Tax Resistance League:—

> A lady receives £200 a year from dividends. Her husband earns £140. There are three children. £190 of their joint income is exempt from Tax, £10 abatement being allowed on each child; so that the husband pays no tax on his £140. The wife wrote to claim rebate on £50 of her £200. She was told that the claim must be made by her husband. He demanded the refund of £8 15s., the tax for three years, and kept the whole of it when it was paid to him in due course by the Income Tax authorities. For this conduct his wife has no legal remedy.
>
> In another case a lady, after marriage, was obliged to resume her old work in the Civil Service at a salary of £200, because her husband, having failed in a good business, took a situation with such a small salary attached that he could not keep his wife and children. The wife found something like 1s. in every pound of her salary deducted. On claiming a return of the tax, she was told that her husband only could claim rebate as her income for purposes of taxation was his. The husband was extremely sensitive on the necessity of his wife's work, and refused steadily year after year to make any statement of their joint income, although £160 of the income was legally exempt. This went on for nearly twenty years, and the lady must have paid about £200 in tax before she could persuade her husband to sign his name to the claim filled in by her.

What does Mr. Lloyd George propose to do for such women? Apparently nothing at all! He admitted lately in the House of Commons that abatement on the income tax of a married woman was only allowed to the *husband*, even when he had no income of his own; but refused to amend this on the ground that it "would involve very considerable changes and adjustments in the income tax law." In other words, he means to continue the practice of robbing women of money which is theirs and paying it to other people who have no right to it, rather than introduce any disturbing factor in the peaceful routine of a Government department.

Then, too, there is the very real injustice to both husband and wife of lumping together the incomes and charging the tax on the total. Instances from their own experience will occur to everyone where such incomes have to pay the tax, though either or both, treated separately, would be exempt, or nearly so. The wife is the one on whom this presses most hardly, for hers is usually the smaller income, which should have relief. What a farce to take such credit for the £10 abatement for each child, and at the same time to leave unredressed this "penalty tax" on marriage! While husband and wife are both alive, the State assures them that their incomes are *one*, and that they must be taxed on that basis; as soon as one or the other dies, the State discovers that the estates were separate all the time, and proceeds to levy death duties on the survivor. With the Inland Revenue Department it is always a case of "Heads I win, tails you lose."

What justification is there for combining for purposes of taxation incomes which are regarded as separate for other purposes? The answer was given by Mr. Hobhouse for the Treasury when Mr. Walter Guinness raised the question in November, 1910. He stated: "The loss to the Exchequer (by the passing of the amendment) would be something like £1,500,000 a year. I think I have only got to state the figures to the House to show . . . that it would be impossible to accept it." No attempt to justify the case on a point of principle; the *only* excuse for the present state of things is that the Government want the money! It is just as if a man stole my watch, and justified the action by saying that his income was only £500, and an extra £10 was absolutely necessary for him to live.

Have we not a right to ask that the whole subject should be treated not in this pilfering spirit, but in a broad and statesmanlike way? No amendment will meet the case which safeguards the husband only, and leaves the wife, when it suits the purpose of the Treasury, in the position of an irresponsible person, a mere appendage of her husband who for certain purposes is to be allowed no control over her own financial affairs.

Husband and wife must be recognised as separate taxable units, each with the full rights and responsibilities that come from the possession of a separate income. Is there any likelihood that this will be gained till women get the vote? We shall see.

AUSTRALIAN WOMEN TO MR. HARCOURT

The following letter has been sent to Mr. Lewis Harcourt, Secretary of State for the Colonies, by Miss Vida Goldstein, on behalf of the Women's Political Association of Victoria:—

Dear Sir,—We desire to express to you our deep regret that, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, you should adopt the attitude you do towards the enfranchisement of the women of the United Kingdom. Your open denunciation of a principle which is an integral part of our Australian Constitution, and which is a part of our very lives, is a serious reflection on Australian women. Please do not misunderstand us. We respect your convictions, and do not claim, impertinently, that you should conceal them, but we think we are entitled to ask that, as we are, in a sense, the "constituents" of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, you should refrain from using your official position to thwart a reform which touches us as closely as does the enfranchisement of English women.

It is a reflection on Australian women that our representative in the British Cabinet should be amongst those personally responsible for placing them on a lower political level in England than Australian men. Our men retain their free political status in England. We lose ours. This is a selfish, personal view of the question, but we plead with you and other Anti-Suffrage members of the Cabinet to stand aside and let the Suffragists in the Cabinet and in the House, a majority, fulfil their pledges, before some appalling tragedy occurs in the Suffrage movement which will fill you and your colleagues with remorse for all the years to come. As free women of Australia we make this plea on behalf of our English sisters.

To-day's cable messages tell us that militancy is again being used as an excuse for delaying a long-overdue measure of justice to women. Sir, militancy will never cease until the women of the United Kingdom are enfranchised. May we remind you that politicians tinker with effects, that statesmen remove the causes of political disorder? The English Government is not only making more militants every day in England. It is making militant women all the world over. That women, once any considerable number of them have made the demand, should not be allowed to speak through the ballot-box about their own terrible problems as wage-earners, about the terrible lot of their wage-earning and diseased children, and about the ghastly evils of prostitution and the White Slave Traffic, is rousing the women of every country to an understanding of these problems, and to deep sympathy with and encouragement of the brave women who are ready to suffer any degradation and torture that may be imposed on them that they may set their sisters free to fight for freedom.

The militants will conquer sooner or later. You, sir, and your colleagues cannot "overcome the force of spirit with the spirit of force." Our earnest prayer is that even now you have realised the spiritual issues involved in the present struggle, and will help the women to gain political freedom.—Yours faithfully,

VIDA GOLDSTEIN.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Colours: Purple, White, and Green

Dear Members of the Fellowship,—For the past six months my husband and I as Editors of our paper, and you as our colleagues vitally interested in our common ideal and purpose, have been working together to secure the development and extended circulation of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Our immediate object has been to set forth a clear and reasoned statement of the present political position of the Votes for Women Movement, and to make a strong appeal to the understanding and sense of fair play of the general public, and to win the convinced support of all those people of goodwill who do not allow themselves to become the mere tools of political passion and party prejudice. The sense of union and fellowship has been an inspiration to us all, and will be confirmed if we can meet together and enter into personal contact with one another. Such a meeting would be specially valuable just now, when the call for even more strenuous endeavour is being heard by every group of Suffragists in the great battlefield as well as by every individual soul who realises that the moment of supreme crisis in our great struggle for constitutional liberty is now at hand.

We have asked you to set aside the evening of May 7 and keep it free, because on that evening we have engaged the Suffolk Galleries, Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, S.W., and we now most cordially invite you to foregather there at 8.30, when we will confer together how best to further the purpose and the work which we have at heart.

In the meantime, it has been suggested by some of the Fellows that this first Reunion of the Fellowship should be regarded as a sort of Christening party, and that to mark the festival and give it significance all who come shall bring gifts to this child of our fostering care.

This delightful idea is capable of many forms of development. Even those who could not come in person could depute others to present their offerings. These gifts could take various forms. For instance, every Fellow in the intervening four weeks between now and May 7 could win at least one fresh subscriber to the paper. Many could, and no doubt would, present a generous list. No gift could be more practical or more valuable than this. For every fresh subscriber gained is one more supporter, one more worker, one more centre of enlightenment, one more missionary for the Cause.

Particularly at this crisis it is of vital importance to add daily to the number of those who follow with intelligent interest and fully enlightened appreciation every turn and development of the present political crisis. Never was it so vitally important that the general public should understand the causes that have led to militancy and the forces that sustain the agitation. Never was public sympathy and support so essential or so much in danger of going astray. While the official organs of the various Suffrage societies naturally direct their main appeal to those who are already within their own ranks, VOTES FOR WOMEN, as the one Suffrage paper independent of all organisations, presents the political situation to the general public, explaining the connection between cause and effect, setting forth plain facts and figures, and calling for a judgment against the Government who have violated the Constitution, and who are the real instigators and fomentors of the present disorder.

In addition to subscription forms, special birthday presents of posters would be most acceptable. For, as you know, an annual subscription of 25s. secures a poster in a prominent position at railway bookstalls, and we shall never be satisfied until we see posters displayed at all the big stations in the kingdom. Twenty-five shillings can be given or collected, jointly subscribed, or earned by the ingenious devices so familiar to friends of the Suffrage Movement. Special promises of service could also be given on this occasion. I commend all these suggestions, and shall welcome correspondence on the subject. Next week we shall be able to give more particular information as to the programme for the evening.—Yours in the Fellowship,

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To April 8, 1913.)

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	189	19	11
Mrs. Hawkins	0	1	0
Miss Ellen Smith	0	1	0
Mrs. Macdonald	1	0	0
Miss H. B. Hanson	0	5	0
Profit on Sale of VOTES from Leeds	0	8	3
Miss Daisy Solomon	0	2	6
Miss Florence Sinclair	0	2	6
"Marie Eauchamp"	0	5	0
Miss Una Thomson	0	5	0
Total	192	10	2

(Owing to an error by which a donation was inadvertently omitted twice, last week's total of the Fund should have been £189 19 11d., and not £189 9s. 11d. as we stated.)

"THREE YEARS' PENAL SERVITUDE"

Second Day of Mrs. Pankhurst's Trial at the Old Bailey—Her Speech from the Dock—Verdict and Sentence—Striking Demonstration of Anger in the Court

Mrs. Pankhurst's trial was resumed and concluded at the Old Bailey before Mr. Justice Lush and a jury last Thursday morning. The Court was again crowded, as on the first day of the proceedings. Mr. Bodkin and Mr. Travers Humphreys appeared, as before, on behalf of the Director of Public Prosecutions, and Mrs. Pankhurst conducted her own defence, assisted by her solicitor, Mr. Marshall. During the hearing, Miss Olive Hocken, whose trial followed Mrs. Pankhurst's, came and sat at the solicitors' table.

FURTHER EVIDENCE FOR THE PROSECUTION

Further evidence was called for the prosecution, and Detective Renshaw, the Scotland Yard reporter who attended Mrs. Pankhurst's meetings, entered the witness-box, and some time was occupied by the counsel in reading the witness's report of defendant's speeches. In one of these Mrs. Pankhurst protested against the attempts made by the police to take by force the finger-prints of one of the Suffragists, who gave the name of Miss James.

Mrs. Pankhurst (to the witness): Were you aware at the time, or are you aware that the lady who called herself "Miss James" was Miss Forbes Robertson?

Witness: I cannot say.

The Judge: I cannot see, Mrs. Pankhurst, what such questions as that have got to do with it. They do not throw any light on the question.

Mrs. Pankhurst also challenged the accuracy of a report read of a speech made by her at Croydon in February.

Mrs. Pankhurst: Do you say that the sentences of my speech you have reported are actually in verbatim?—Yes.

You have used the actual words I used and arranged them in the way I used them?—Yes. If I had not done so, I don't see how it is possible for them to have got there. I must be very imaginative.

Mrs. Pankhurst: If you are prepared to swear that, I have nothing further to ask.

The Cardiff Speech

By far the most interesting piece of evidence produced by the prosecution was the Cardiff speech, in which Mrs. Pankhurst took upon herself the responsibility of the Walton Heath explosion. There was not a sound to be heard in the Court as Mr. Travers Humphreys read it, word for word, and the effect on the jury was marked. A remarkable characteristic of this stage of the proceedings was the admirable expression with which Mr. Humphrey delivered what was in itself a complete justification of militancy. While he was reading the speech the Court was converted into a temporary Suffrage meeting, the only interruptions being an occasional interpolation from Mr. Edward James, the Cardiff journalist, who was in the witness-box, following what was read from his shorthand notes.

The following are some of the most striking passages in it:—

"No people, whether they are men or women, are justified in adopting the methods of insurrection and civil war unless they can prove that life has become intolerable for a considerable section of the community under the present conditions. Whenever there is insurrection in a country it arises from the fact that a considerable section of the community have come to the conclusion that they cannot get just government by any other means. Those of you who do not like insurrection, if you are wise, examine first of all the reasons which have led to this. Now, you all of you say that men in the past have been justified when they fought civil wars to win freedom." (Voices: "No, we haven't.") "What! Are there men here who turn on their forefathers and say they were not justified when they fought for political liberty? Well, if there are some degenerate sons of noble fathers, it seems to me that it is one of the best reasons why women should try to raise again the standard which was carried by men in the past when they won their political liberties.

Slavery Still Going On

"When I was a little girl the war between the North and the South was being fought to abolish negro slavery. We thought when that war was ended, and the negro slaves of America were emancipated, that was an end of slavery in the world, that never again in any country called civilised could human beings be bought and sold. But we were mistaken. To-day is the twentieth century; and in this country and in every other country that is called civilised human beings are being bought and sold exactly like merchandise. If you read the report of a man who was Public Prosecutor in the City of Texas, made for the American Government, you will find that in New York and in practically every great city in the civilised world, there is a traffic in human beings—in women, girls, and little children—exactly as there was a traffic in negro slaves. In New York, ten millions of money are spent in that slave traffic. Twenty-six thousand women are in that traffic—purchased and sold in that traffic—and not only are they women of full age, but little children from four to five years upwards are bought and sold by auction.

Rescue Homes for Little Girls

"Very well, the same state of things obtains in this country; not only are there women forced into slave traffic, but in this country I know of six rescue homes for little children under twelve years of age. A question was asked in Parliament on February 5 about a report that was presented to the Viceroy of India and his Council—a report dealing with the same traffic that is going on in our great dependency of India. I ask you, were any of the conditions of negro slavery worse than those conditions? If it was necessary to fight a war to put an end to that slavery, is it not right to engage in warfare to end the slavery in which white women are being sold every day of the year? You may say to me that this evil can be dealt with without militancy on the part of women. I was a young woman when Josephine Butler waged war against this evil many years ago. She succeeded in getting some small amount of public attention called to an evil, and some small modifications made in the evil in her days; but here, after practically half a century, you find the same evil as rampant as ever, and nothing really practical being done to put an end to it; and while we women are waiting for the consciences of men to be roused, things go from bad to worse.

The Industrial Condition of Women

"Look at the industrial conditions of women. Look at Cardiff—and ask yourselves—try to find out what is the condition of women. Men, since they were emancipated—since they won their political liberty—have been able to do as much as they wanted to do in order to improve their own condition and the condition of women. Heaven knows they have not done very much for themselves; but they have done absolutely nothing for women. The condition of women industrially to-day is worse than it ever was. . . . Now, I ask you, must there not be something behind this agitation which lead women to do this?" ("Money.") "What? Are you prepared to go through it for money? Are you prepared to face what we are facing for money? Why, there is hardly a man alive in the country who has the courage to face a tenth part of it!"

The Famous Passage

The passage in the Cardiff speech which formed the basis of the case for the prosecution ran as follows:—

"I said I was prepared to accept the responsibility for all the acts that women feel themselves driven to by the injustice that was done. I don't go back upon what I said. I say that for all that has been done in the past I accept responsibility. That I have advised, I have incited, I have conspired, and I say this—the authorities need not look for the women who have done what they did last night. I accept responsibility for it."

MRS. PANKHURST'S DEFENCE

The case for the prosecution having been closed, the judge asked Mrs. Pankhurst if she wished to call any witnesses or to go in the witness-box herself. She declined, but said she would like to make a statement. She then made a forcible and impassioned speech in her defence, which will be found verbatim on pp. 392 and 393.

THE JUDGE'S SUMMING-UP

Mr. Justice Lush, in summing-up to the jury, said that the matters upon which the defendant had addressed them had nothing to do with the issue they were trying. They were to deal with the evidence alone. He thought they would probably agree that, if the defendant did the things charged against her, she was not actuated by the ordinary selfish motives that moved most criminals who stood in the dock. They would probably agree that she had got deeply embedded in her mind the conviction that she would be discharging a public duty if, by any means, fair or foul, she could bring about the change in the law which she thought was essential to the well-being of society and of women as a sex. But they were not dealing with questions of that kind. She was none the less guilty if she did the things charged against her, although she might believe, and did believe, that by those means the conditions of society would be ameliorated. The question for the jury was solely whether the prosecution had proved that some persons unlawfully and maliciously blew up the house at Walton Heath and that the defendant incited or counselled or procured them to do it. It was not necessary, in order to find defendant guilty, that the jury should come to the conclusion that she actually conceived the scheme of blowing up the house.

The Judge also referred to the defendant's statement, "We are engaged in civil war," and said the phrase, applied to the conditions about which she was speaking, was absurd. So far from its being the case, she herself had been receiving the protection of the laws of the country in which she lived. There was no war against her or those who thought with her in the only sense in which that expression would be relevant.

THE VERDICT

The jury retired at 1.30 to consider their verdict, and on an application being made on behalf of Mrs. Pankhurst, his Lordship adjourned the Court until ten minutes past two in order that she might see her daughter, Miss Adela Pankhurst. When it reassembled, the Foreman of the Jury announced the following verdict:

"Guilty, with a strong recommendation to mercy."

THE SENTENCE

The Judge, in passing sentence, said:

"It is my duty, and a very painful duty it is, to pass what, in my opinion, is the suitable and adequate sentence to the crime of which you have been most properly convicted, paying regard to the strong recommendation of mercy by the jury. I quite recognise, and I have already said it, that the motives that have actuated you in committing this crime are not the selfish motives which actuate most persons who stand in your position. But, although you blind your eyes to it, I cannot help pointing out to you that the crime of which you have been convicted is not only a very serious one, but, in spite of your motives, it is, in fact, a wicked one. It is wicked because it not only leads to the destruction of property of persons who have done you no wrong, but, in spite of your calculations, it was a crime which might have exposed other people to the danger of being maimed or even killed, if things went otherwise than was expected. It is wicked because you are, and have been, luring other people—young women it may be—to engage in such crimes, possibly to their own ruin, and it is wicked because—you cannot help being alive to it if you will only think—you are setting an example to other persons who may have other grievances that they legitimately may want to have put right to embark in a similar scheme to yours to try to effect their object by attacking property, if not the lives of other people. I know, unfortunately, that you pay no heed to what I say. I only beg of you to think of these things.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I have thought, my lord.

The Judge: Think of them one short hour dispassionately. The sentence must be a severe one; it must be adequate for the crime of which you have been convicted. I can only say this—that if you would only realise the wrong you are doing, the mistake you are making, see the error you have committed, and undertake to amend matters by using your influence in the right direction, I would be the first to use my best endeavours to bring about a mitigation of the sentence I am about to pass. I cannot, and will not regard your crime as a merely trivial one. It is not. It is a most serious one, and, as I said before, whatever you may think, it is a wicked one. I pay regard to the recommendation of the jury. You yourself have stated the maximum sentence which this particular offence, by the Legislature, is thought to deserve or thought may deserve. The least sentence I can pass upon you is **a sentence of three years' penal servitude.**

SCENE IN COURT

The spontaneity of what followed will not be readily forgotten by those who were present. For a breathless moment there was complete silence; then came one or two almost inarticulate cries from people in the body of the Court, then one great shout of "Shame!"—both from men and women sitting in the gallery as well as downstairs. If the outburst had been organised, it could not have been more effective. That one angry, contemptuous word from a hundred throats simultaneously was a more eloquent comment on a savage sentence following upon a recommendation to "mercy" than could have been made after careful arrangement and rehearsal.

Mrs. Pankhurst received the verdict in complete silence. With great dignity she gathered up her papers and passed from the dock and out of the Court. The indignation of those left behind increased in volume. "We'll keep the flag flying!" shouted someone in the gallery, as she went away to the cells. "Good luck!" shouted others. As she disappeared there were renewed cries of "Shame!" all over the Court. Everyone by this time was standing, men as well as women taking part in the demonstration. The Judge at first sat silent—was it amazement or helplessness that filled his countenance?—while officials and constables endeavoured without the least avail to calm and silence the demonstrators near them.

"Three cheers for Mrs. Pankhurst!" were given heartily. Then a bold spirit started the "Women's Marseillaise."

The Judge, trying to make himself heard above the tumult, said something about decorum—a word that he had used more than once during the morning's proceedings—and ordered the Court to be cleared. The women's answer was—

March on! March on! Face to the dawn,
The dawn of Liberty!

Finally, not wishing to stay any longer, they went out to swell the great crowd in the street that had assembled to hear the verdict. There were more demonstrations of anger outside when this became known, and the police had their work to do to keep the people on the move and the street clear for traffic. Later, when Mrs. Pankhurst was smuggled away to Holloway Gaol in a fourwheel cab—typical of the ancient order she is out to smash up—she was followed to prison by the voices of women bidding her to be of good cheer.

APPLICATION FOR COSTS

To an emptying Court and to perfectly indifferent ears, Judge Lush said sternly: "If any of you repeat this conduct I shall consider the question of committing you to prison. I will not have the Court turned into such an indecent exhibition. After what has just occurred I shall give directions to those in charge of the Court that no women are to be allowed into this Court without special permission. I will not allow this Court to be the disgrace it was a moment ago."

An application by Mr. Bodkin that the prisoner should pay the costs of the prosecution was refused, on the ground that there was no direct evidence as to her means.

THE REAL INCITERS

The following letter, signed by Mr. H. W. Nevinson and Mr. H. D. Harben, has been sent to Mr. McKenna:—

Sir,—As the committee of the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, we claim the right of all British subjects to petition the King in regard to the sentence of three years' penal servitude passed upon Mrs. Pankhurst for inciting to destroy property.

Such a sentence appears to us a perversion of justice, being entirely out of proportion to the offence. No one who has followed the history of the movement for women's enfranchisement will doubt that it was inspired by vindictive and personal motives on the side of the present Government to meet a political emergency. It was passed in spite of the jury's strong recommendation to mercy, and without consideration for the noble character of Mrs. Pankhurst herself, or for the object which has prompted all her actions, and which, in our opinion, is the finest of all possible objects—the extension of constitutional freedom to those who do not possess it.

Should this petition be disregarded, we call upon his Majesty's Government at once to instruct the Public Prosecutor to proceed against the Right Hon. Sir Edward Carson, the Right Hon. F. E. Smith, and other members of Parliament for inciting to rebellion and civil war in a part of the King's dominions, whereby great loss would be occasioned, not only to property, but to life.

TWO PRESS COMMENTS

The jury added a strong recommendation to mercy. The judge promptly sentenced her to three years' penal servitude—a conception of mercy which probably surprised the jury as much as the spectators, who raised loud cries in protest.—**Daily News.**

Mrs. Pankhurst and her friends may be imprisoned and tortured, but they know, and we all know, that they are fighting a winning battle, a winning battle for a much bigger cause than the right to vote. All the savagery of the powers that be—with intervals of croaking and cowardice—is vain against them. But it is an ugly blot on the reputation of Britain. Her masters go on meeting a noble ideal with the methods of barbarians and madmen. How long will the conscience of the community stand it?—**Daily Herald.**

THE REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGN

DIARY OF EVENTS

Thursday, April 3. — Mrs. Pankhurst sentenced to three years' penal servitude at the Old Bailey.

Suffragists said to be responsible for fire on Wednesday, April 2 (after we had gone to press), at Free Church, Hampstead Garden Suburb, damage estimated at £200. Fires also discovered in four houses in same district.

Attempt to blow up railway station at Oxted, Surrey; Suffragist sympathisers suspected; two men said to have caused the explosion.

At Manchester Art Gallery, glass of thirteen pictures broken; three arrests. Gallery insured against fire, but not other damage; value of pictures attacked not less than £25,000 or £30,000. Also eleven pillar-boxes attacked.

At annual inspection of Plymouth dockyards by Mr. Churchill, inscriptions enamelled by Suffragists on old Eddystone Lighthouse, one being as follows: "To Mr. Churchill,—No security till you give women votes, no matter how big the Navy." At a suburb, Lipson, telephone wires cut.

One carriage of an empty train, standing on a siding, wrecked by an explosion, at Davenport, near Stockport; carriage became disconnected and hurled down embankment; attributed to Suffragists.

Friday, April 4. — Large empty house destroyed by fire at Chorley Wood; cards found bearing the words, "Votes for Women."

Two women arrested, near Mitcham Golf Course, carrying bags of inflammable material.

Letters damaged at Brighton and Hove.

Four main telegraph wires severed near Llantarnum, Pontypool; a paper left, bearing the words, "We won't be quiet until Mrs. Pankhurst is out of prison."

Saturday, April 5.—Grand stand burnt at the Western Meeting Racing Club, Ayr, also about 500 to 600 chairs stored in stand. Loss estimated at £2,000. Damage attributed to Suffragists, as copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN and *The Suffragette* found among wreckage. No arrests.

Attempt to fire new Grand Stand, Kelso Racecourse; two arrests.

Supposed attempt by Suffragists to fire pavilion of the Dundee West End Lawn Tennis Club, heap of charred newspapers, matches, and other articles found.

Fire discovered in half-built house at Little Heath, Potters Bar, said to have been the work of Suffragists.

Extensive damage to hyacinth beds in Park at Newcastle; footprints of women's goloshes found.

King Henry VI. School, King's Norton, long been closed, opened on Saturday; on a blackboard following words found written: "Two Suffragists have entered here, but, charmed with this old-world room, have refrained from their design of destruction."

Sunday, April 6. — Letter-box attacks at Queen's Park, a suburb of Glasgow.

Large empty house at Eaton, a suburb of Norwich, badly damaged by fire; an organiser for a local W.S.P.U., asked if she had anything to say about the matter, replied that she neither accepted nor disclaimed responsibility for it.

Monday, April 7.— Attempt to fire stand at Ely Racecourse, Cardiff; no arrests.

Large number of letters destroyed in letter-box outside Royal Exchange, Glasgow. Fires in pillar-boxes at Eastbourne; also at Bournemouth and Ilford.

Attempts to fire unoccupied houses at Hendon and Hampstead Garden Suburb.

Tuesday, April 8.—Arrest of Miss Annie Kenney.

About a dozen telegraph and telephone wires cut at Little Coates, near Grimsby.

One of Sebastopol siege guns in grounds of Dudley Castle fired; force of explosion heard for miles, many windows shattered. Attributed to Suffragists.

Wednesday, April 9.—Fire in letter-box, Parliament Street Post Office.

PRECAUTIONS!

It is stated that women are not to be admitted to the Crewe Railway Station when the ceremony of presenting an address takes place on their Majesties' arrival. It is understood that a number of ladies, as well as gentlemen, were to have been presented.

In view of the references made by Suffragists to the burning of Nottingham Castle in 1832, the utmost care is at present being taken to guard the Castle. Windsor Castle, Chatsworth House, and Haddon Hall are also being watched day and night by police and gamekeepers.

SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON

In Holloway Gaol

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Miss Louisa Gay	Jan. 9	8 months
Mrs. Ethel Beckett	Feb. 7	3 "
Mrs. Maud Brindley	" "	5 "
Mrs. Marie Louisa Miles	" "	3 "
Miss Mabel Muriel Scholefield	" "	3 "
†Miss Pleasance Pendred	Feb. 22	6 months'
Miss Jane Short	" "	6 "
†Miss Ella Stevenson	Mar. 5	9 "
†Miss Marjorie Masters	Mar. 15	1 "
Miss Margaret Macfarlane	Mar. 20	5 months
Miss Margaret Llewhellin	Mar. 28	1 month
Mrs. Pankhurst	April 3	3 years' penal servitude
Miss Olive Hocken	April 4	4 months
Miss Isabel Irving	April 5	6 " hard labour
Miss Phyllis Brady	" "	Remanded
Miss Milicent Deane	" "	"

In Wormwood Scrubbs Prison

†Mr. Hugh Franklin	Mar. 8	9 months

† Being forcibly fed.

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, April 3. — At the Central Criminal Courts, Old Bailey, before Mr. Justice Lush, on a charge of inciting some unknown person to destroy a house at Walton, Mrs. Pankhurst sentenced to three years' penal servitude.

At the Central Criminal Courts, Old Bailey, before Mr. Justice Lush, on a charge of having conspired to set fire to a pavilion at Roehampton, to damage orchid houses at Kew Gardens, to cut telegraph wires, and with having placed fluid in a letter-box at Ladbroke Grove, Miss Olive Hocken; trial adjourned.

Friday, April 4. — At the Old Bailey, Miss Olive Hocken sentenced to four months in the second division, and to pay half the costs of the prosecution.

At the Central Criminal Court, Old Bailey, before the Recorder, charged with maliciously damaging three panes of glass, value £40, at the premises of the Roneo Company, Ltd., Holborn, on March 14, Miss Isabel Irving sentenced to six months' hard labour.

At the City Police Court, Manchester, charged with maliciously damaging pictures at the City Art Gallery, Miss Annie Briggs, Mrs. Lilian Forrester, and Miss Evelyn Manesta remanded.

At the Croydon Police Court, charged with being suspected persons found loitering, and in possession of a quantity of inflammable material,

Miss Phyllis Brady, remanded.

Miss Milicent Deane, remanded.

Saturday, April 5. — At the Croydon Police Court, Miss Phyllis Brady and Miss Milicent Deane remanded, bail refused.

At the Kelso Police Court, before Sheriff Baillie, charged with attempting to fire the Grand Stand, Kelso Racecourse, Miss Ellen Smith and Miss Mary Brown, remanded.

Tuesday, April 8.—At the Bow Street Police Court, before Sir Albert de Rutzen, charged with being a disturber of the peace and an inciter of others, and with being likely to persevere in this unlawful conduct, Miss Annie Kenney. Remanded, bail allowed.

At the North London Police Court, before Mr. Hedderwick, charged with causing obstruction outside Holloway Gaol, Miss Florence Macaulay and Miss Gertrude Edwards. Sentenced to 21 days' imprisonment or a fine of £5 each, payment refused, but fines subsequently paid for them.

Wednesday, April 9.—At Bow Street Police Court, Miss Annie Kenney, case adjourned till April 22, bail allowed.

PRISONERS RELEASED BEFORE THE EXPIRY OF THEIR SENTENCES

Mrs. Branson was released on Friday, April 4, five days before the end of her sentence of two months for window breaking; she had been forcibly fed, and had been very ill for some time.

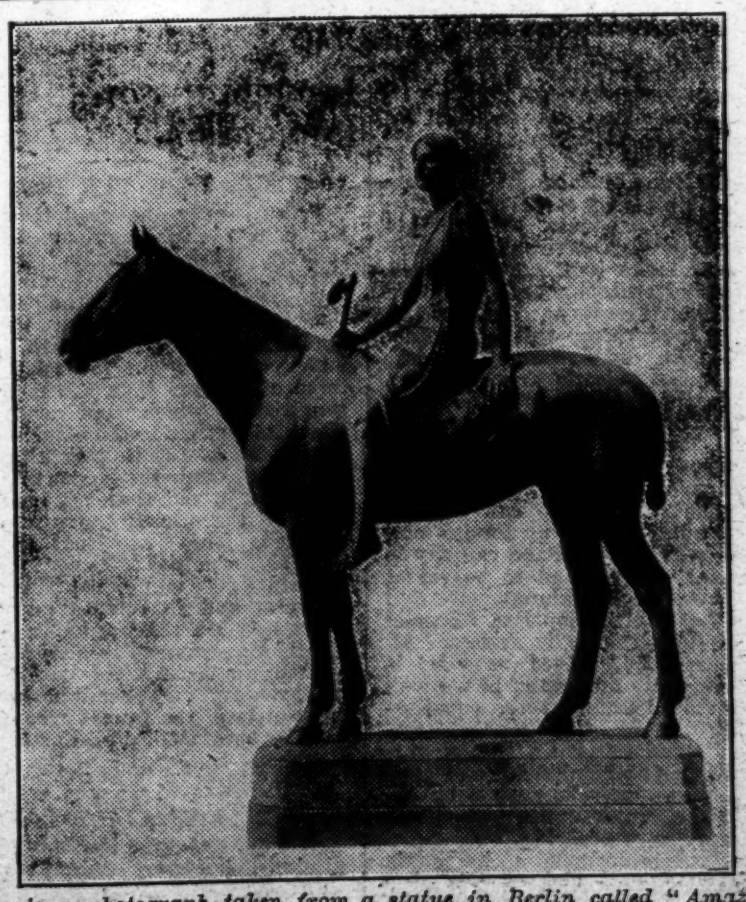
The anonymous Suffragist, who was sentenced on March 4 to two months for an attempt to damage the All-England Tennis Ground, was released on April 5. She, also, was extremely ill in consequence of forcible feeding.

Miss Olive Wharry, after a hunger strike lasting thirty-two days, during twenty-nine of which she managed to conceal this from the prison authorities, was released on Tuesday, April 8. She had been sentenced on March 7 to eighteen months' imprisonment for being concerned in burning the Kew Gardens' Tea Pavilion.

Miss Zélie Emerson, the American Suffragist, who was sentenced on February 18 to two months, was released on Tuesday evening, April 8, owing to the condition of her health brought about by forcible feeding.

Mr. William Lansbury was released on April 9 at the expiration of his sentence of two months.

Miss Dorothy Barnes, Miss May Richardson, Miss Grace Stuart, and Mrs. Dove-Wilcox are due to be released on April 10, after we have gone to press. Miss Marjorie Masters' sentence expires on Monday next.



The above is a photograph taken from a statue in Berlin called "Amazone," by Louis Tuaillon.

ARREST OF MISS ANNIE KENNEY

Miss Annie Kenney was arrested at the offices of the Women's Social and Political Union last Tuesday afternoon, on a charge of incitement to violence, and was brought up at Bow Street Police Court, the same day, before Sir Albert de Rutzen. The action of the authorities was taken under an Act, Edward III., Cap. 34, directed against "disorderly persons."

Mr. A. H. Bodkin (instructed by Mr. William Lewis) appeared on behalf of the Director of Public Prosecutions, and Mr. Guy Stephenson, the assistant director, was also present. Mr. Marshall defended.

"A Precautionary Measure"

Mr. Bodkin said the defendant had been arrested, on a warrant granted that afternoon, as a precautionary measure. It was considered necessary that she should discontinue to make inflammatory speeches to women connected with the social and political movement with which she was associated. There could be no doubt that in consequence of speeches of an inflammatory character such as the defendant had delivered a vast amount of damage, of all sorts and kinds, had been committed during the past two months in London and elsewhere. The condition of things brought about by these violent speeches made it imperative to take the defendant before a magistrate in order that she might be called upon to find sureties for her future good behaviour. It was not a process for the purpose of punishment. It was what he might call preventive justice. If the defendant found sureties, and entered into her own recognisance in respect of her future behaviour, the object of the proceedings would have been attained. If, owing to the lateness of the hour, it was found impossible to complete the case, he would not object to bail, but he thought it should be of a substantial character.

Four Inflammatory Speeches

Detective-inspector Riley, of Scotland Yard, gave evidence as to taking the defendant into custody in Kingsway at a quarter past four o'clock that afternoon. She made no reply when he told her that he held a warrant for her arrest. Witness laid the information on which the warrant was obtained, at the same time producing the reports of four speeches made by the defendant between January 23 and April 3.

Mr. Harben, of Newlands Park, Chalfont St. Giles, became surety for the defendant in the sum of £200, and upon her giving an undertaking not to incite anyone, directly or indirectly, to commit a breach of the peace in the meantime, she was liberated until Wednesday afternoon.

Remanded till April 22

On Wednesday afternoon, when Miss Kenney surrendered to her bail, Mr. Muir appeared for the defence, and applied for a further remand. The case was adjourned until April 22 on the defendant giving a written undertaking not to take part in any militant movement by speaking or otherwise.

MISS OLIVE HOCKEN'S CASE

On Thursday in last week, before Mr. Justice Lush, at the Old Bailey, Miss Hocken was convicted of complicity in the attempted outrage at Roehampton Club, and was sentenced to four months' imprisonment in the second division, in addition to paying half the costs of the prosecution.

Mr. Bodkin prosecuted for the Crown, and Mr. Muir appeared for the defendant. Evidence was called to prove that Miss Hocken was neither at Kew nor at Roehampton on the nights when the outrages took place. Mr. Justice Lush said he did not think the evidence as to the cutting of the telephone wires was close enough to connect the defendant with the act. He should therefore withdraw that count, but the others must go to the jury.

Miss Hocken's Speech

After an absence of about twenty minutes the jury found the prisoner guilty of conspiracy to commit damage at Roehampton. On the other counts they found her not guilty.

Miss Hocken said she would like to explain why she was in this position. She was not guilty of the charge against her, although she did not for one moment attempt to deny that she was a militant Suffragist. She joined the movement, and had worked in it heart and soul, because it was her deeply-rooted conviction that the world would be fairer and the conditions of life better for men, as well as for women and children, if women shared in the government.

She added:—

"A Court composed entirely of men has no moral right to convict and sentence a woman, and until women have the power of voting I shall continue to defy the law, whether I am in prison or out of it."

THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE PRESS

MR. DICKINSON'S BILL

On Thursday in last week Mr. Dickinson formally introduced the Woman Suffrage Bill which has been drawn up by the Liberal Committee in the House of Commons. We gave the text of it in our issue of March 28. It was read a first time without discussion, and it is generally thought that an early date will be fixed for the second reading (the *Manchester Guardian* says two days will probably be given before the House rises in the first week of May), but that the promised facilities for the further stages of the Bill will not be given until after Whitsuntide.

The Bill is backed by Mr. Burt, Lord H. Cavendish-Bentinck, Mr. Chancellor, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Leif Jones, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Henry McLaren, Sir Charles Nicholson, Mr. Walter Rea, Sir John Rolleston, and Mr. Snowden.

VISCOUNT DILLON AND FORCIBLE FEEDING

Viscount Dillon has sent us the following communication:—

"In the *St. James' Gazette* of the 2nd inst., under the title 'Home Office Exhibit,' was: 'It is understood that at the International Exhibition of Ghent, which will be opened on the 26th inst., a section of "English Prisons" has been placed at the disposal of the British Home Office. Full models of the various cells, &c., have been prepared for the purpose.'

"It is to be hoped that unless the British Home Office is ashamed of its methods, the '&c.' will include the appliances and incidentals used in forcible feeding.

"Dillon.

Ditchley, Enstone, April 8, 1913.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

Monday, April 7

In the House of Commons last Monday, in reply to a question by Mr. Keir Hardie,

Mr. McKenna said: The number of persons imprisoned for offences in connection with the suffragist agitation since January 1, 1910, is as follows:—

	Females.	Males.
1910	113	3
1911	182	6
1912	238	2
1913	66	4

These figures relate to persons received into prison on conviction, and do not include cases received on remand or while awaiting trial. As I have already stated, on March 25, in reply to a question by my hon. Friend the Member for the Mansfield Division, out of the 240 imprisoned in 1912, fifty-seven were forcibly fed, and of these twenty-three were released for reasons of health. Since the beginning of this year, out of the seventy imprisoned ten have been forcibly fed and three of these have been released for reasons of health. Similar information with regard to the years 1910 and 1911 could not be furnished without a great expenditure of labour and time, and in some cases the particulars might not now be available.

Tuesday, April 8.

Mr. Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether Miss Emerson, who was serving a sentence of two months' imprisonment in Holloway for breaking a window, was an American citizen and was being forcibly fed; and, if so, what report did the doctors give of the present state of her health.

Mr. Ellis Griffith answered the question. He said—The answer to the first two questions is in the affirmative. The doctors report that the condition of her health is quite satisfactory.

Mr. Wedgwood: Is she being forcibly fed and resisting, or being forcibly fed and accepting? (Laughter.)

Mr. Ellis Griffiths: I am afraid I cannot differentiate.

Wednesday, April 9

Mr. Fred Hall asked the Home Secretary if he would say how many women suffragists are at the present time doing the hunger strike, and how many of these women are being forcibly fed.

Mr. McKenna said fourteen women are refusing food, and five are being forcibly fed.

In answer to a question by Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. McKenna said: I received no notice of this question, but as far as my memory goes I think I can give an answer. Mrs. Pankhurst is not taking food, she is not being forcibly fed, the medical officer does not advise that she should be released, her own medical officer has not been allowed to visit her, and I have nothing to say as to her release.

Mr. Keir Hardie: May I say with regard to giving notice of the question, I wrote to the right hon. gentleman in the House before mid-day.

Mr. McKenna: I was at the Home Office.

HOW FORCIBLE FEEDING IS CARRIED OUT

Mrs. Branson, who was released on April 4, gives a terrible account of the way her fellow-prisoner, Miss Ella Stevenson, was forcibly fed for about a fortnight with the nasal tube. Owing to her resistance, there was a great deal of hæmorrhage in the nasal passage. They tried to insert two tubes, one through the nose, the other down the mouth; she had three doctors. On April 2 her front tooth, a perfectly sound one, was broken clean out from the root. She had a gap in her teeth at the back, and they used to force both sides of her mouth back, splitting the flesh, in order to insert the gag.

THE PLURAL VOTING BILL

CONSTITUTIONAL SUFFRAGISTS' PROTEST

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies issued a statement last Tuesday, in the course of which they assert that, "ever since the failure of the Government to redeem Mr. Asquith's pledges to constitutional suffragists, Liberals have shown their annoyance at the latest development of the National Union's policy."

The manifesto, after recalling the circumstances of the Franchise Bill fiasco last January, goes on to say—"Was not this in itself sufficient ground for the National Union's mistrustfulness of Mr. Asquith's Cabinet? Yet not only is the National Union scolded for its refusal to accept a 'penny in the pound' in cancellation of Mr. Asquith's debt, but on top of this the Government, after a very brief period of mourning for the Franchise Bill, has introduced the Plural Voting Bill—the one bit of salvage out of the wreck that will be of service to the Liberal Party.

"Numbers of Liberal suffragists have always realised the injustice of accepting any further enfranchisement for men unless women got some small share of political freedom, too. Yet we see no protest from Liberals against this cynical introduction of a measure which, if passed, will have the effect of increasing the power of the Liberal vote at the polls, so soon after the wider measure was withdrawn—a measure which, had the Women's Suffrage amendment been accepted by the House of Commons, would have given votes to a large section of the community, irrespective of party, that was earnestly demanding it. . . . . .

"If Liberal Suffragists propose to back up their Government in this not very creditable attempt to take advantage of the results of their own mismanagement of the Franchise Bill, with its registration and property qualification—reforms so important to the interests of Labour, and its women's suffrage amendment so vitally important to women—while allowing the women and the Labour Party (which supports the women) to suffer by it, it seems to National Unionists that the Liberal suffragists have themselves answered the question why suffragists are now pursuing an anti-government policy.

"The Labour Party," concludes the manifesto, "is in a different position. Still unreleased from their former pledges to vote for the Bill, they find themselves confronted by it before the resolution passed at the recent Independent Labour Party conference has had time to be referred back to the constituents of the Labour Party at large for confirmation."

A LIBERAL JOURNALIST ON THE SITUATION

Mr. H. W. Massingham, in an article which appeared in last Monday's *Daily News*, regrets that Mrs. Pankhurst did not, in her speech from the dock, as Miss Lind-af-Hageby did in her advocacy of Anti-Vivisection, employ "a woman's weapons in order to interest, persuade, and charm." Mrs. Pankhurst, he complains, uses her powers "to repel, to exasperate, to alienate. That course she pursues, not at all by a stupid woman's fault, but by a clever woman's miscalculation. It is the old miscalculation of the force-worshippers."

A Half-Hearted Tribute

Mr. Massingham goes on to pay a half-hearted tribute to the women engaged in militant action. "These wild young girls," he says—on what authority does Mr. Massingham state the age of the members of the Women's Social and Political Union?—"who rush into madness, and may soon plunge into guilt, are after all a more promising stock than their sister-idlers and faineants. When this craze has run through their blood, many of them will make better wives and mothers, better citizens, better doctors and nurses, than the average 'girl of the period.' But many, too, will be utterly ruined, and when disillusionment comes, and the delights of battle are over, one will not envy the reflections of the more scrupulous and less egoistic leaders of the movement.

"Thus, the bloom is being taken off the cause of the emancipation of women, and all that people of principle can urge is that the community is paying for its long neglect, and all that tacticians can say is that politicians will do well to be rid of the bother of Mrs. Pankhurst. . . . Argument is, of course, hopeless. Special forms of coercion are nearly useless. All that one hopes (and, indeed, expects) is that the recruits for arson and bombs will begin to diminish, and that the constitutional women will take their erring sisterhood in hand, and initiate a special mission of conversion to good sense and good morals. But laws are silent while bullets are flying. Mrs. Pankhurst's 'war' will not end in a militant peace."

Mr. Massingham concludes by again bringing forward his scheme for Woman Suffrage by local option.

THE SUFFRAGE BILL

DUPLICATING WIVES AND DEVOTED WIDOWS

The effect of enfranchising wives will, at the beginning at any rate, prove no more than a balanced duplication of the votes of married men. Thus, nothing will be put up or down, and the real new element will be the women householders, most of whom, as devoted widows, will perpetuate the politics of their deceased husbands.—**Dundee Advertiser.**

OF NO CONCERN TO SUFFRAGISTS

It proposes to enfranchise women householders and the wives of men householders, subject to the condition that they must be over twenty-five years of age. This Bill does not, it is obvious, meet the demand for sex-equality; it does not enfranchise women "on the same terms as men" either with regard to age or qualification. The Conciliation Bill, which also proposed a restricted franchise, did so for the purpose of uniting all the suffragists in the House, and its majority of 167 justified the attempt; but this measure, while abandoning sex-equality, manages at the same time to make unity among suffragists impossible. The Unionist Suffragists object to it, and will endeavour to substitute for it a narrower measure. It is, indeed, as it frankly calls itself, a "Liberal" Suffrage Bill, in the party sense, drafted with a view to the interests of the Liberal Party rather than to the interests of women. Such a Bill clearly cannot expect to command a non-party majority; it must be driven through, if at all, by the force of the Liberal Party majority and the Liberal Party Whips. Lacking this, its fate is not a matter of doubt, nor of much concern to suffragists. —**Irish Citizen.**

THE CAT AND MOUSE BILL

THE SHUFFLERS

Where, by the way, was the bulk of the Labour band when Keir Hardie, Thorne, O'Grady, and others of the faithful few made their stand against McKenna's atrocious measure at St. Stephen's? Only eight were found to vote against the second reading. What is the excuse of the shufflers?—**Daily Herald.**

HIDE-AND-SEEK

The constitutional objections to the Bill are that it makes punishment uncertain and subject to the Executive instead of to process of law. Furthermore, it must lead to continual games of hide-and-seek between the law and the law-breaker.—**Nation.**

SHIRKING THE REAL PROBLEM

Mr. McKenna's Bill, in fact, breaks down precisely where the unassisted law has broken down. The real problem is to avoid the forcible feeding of women who are ready to die at the hands of the Government. Mr. McKenna's Bill carefully excludes all such women from the scope of its relief.—**Saturday Review.**

REMOVE THE GRIEVANCE!

It is an executive difficulty, and the right way of dealing with it is not by a special law passed to meet the particular case, but by taking such action as would remove the grievance which drives these women to their foolish crimes and to their hunger-strike. The argument that to concede their demands would be to encourage law-breaking has been used against all reforms which are so passionately desired as to drive men to crime and rebellion.—**Manchester Guardian.**

WORSE THAN THE INQUISITION

There is only one word to describe Mr. McKenna's Bill against the hunger-strikers. It is damnable. To inflict the torture of forcible feeding upon a prisoner uptil she is on the point of death, then to release her on ticket-of-leave until she recovers her health, and then to imprison her again for another spell of torture is worse than the methods of the Inquisition, which was good enough to allow its victims to die after putting them to the rack. That this Bill should be allowed through the House of Commons is a sign of a moral depravity worse than that of the women against whom it is directed. They at least refrain from devilish cruelties. There is only one method of dealing with the hunger-strikers, and that is to put food before them and let them take it or refuse it. If the Government is afraid to let these women die because of public opinion, it is obvious that the public should accept the claims of the women who are prepared to die, before they have made their last sacrifice.—**National Weekly.**

THE LIBERAL IDEA OF ROOTS

While welcoming the measure on these grounds, however, we still feel that it will not alone go to the root of suffragette "militancy." That root is financial; and it must be reached by a measure making the monetary fines inflicted by the criminal courts recoverable as a civil debt, and abolishing the option of evading them by the cheap and theatrical alternative of going to prison.—**Daily Chronicle.**

EVERY METHOD BUT THE RIGHT ONE

If Mr. McKenna can find no better way of upholding the law than this preposterous proposal, is it not time for him to give place to a less inept and impotent Minister? Yet there is at least one method at his command which we have before now indicated, and which would go far to destroy the whole militant plan of operations. The organisation behind these madwomen should be made responsible and mulcted heavily in fines for every outrage that can be traced to the Suffragists.—**Globe.**

COURAGEOUS COMMON SENSE

As a piece of serious legislation the Bill is not worth serious notice. It might put a stop to the activities of a few suffragists by killing them. This is possible, although not likely. But it will not stop a single suffragist outrage, although it will probably drive some of the prison officials to despair, and bring the whole system of prison administration into contempt. There is not a single sane and level-headed person in the whole country who does not know that sooner or later the franchise will have to be extended to women. People may rave about the wickedness of the militant suffragists, and propose all kinds of impossible plans for checking them. But behind all this there is the knowledge that in a free country, with a wide franchise, people engaged in a political campaign for what they believe to be a just and necessary purpose cannot be suppressed by forcible means. The movement for women's suffrage might be suppressed without difficulty if the militant suffragists were out merely for amusement. There would then be no difficulty in making things so disagreeable that the suffragists would seek their amusement in some other way. But the fact is that the militant suffragists are in deadly earnest. They are prepared to risk their lives, and as a matter of fact they have risked their lives in the prosecution of their enterprise.—**Nottingham Guardian.**

FAINT PRAISE

The justification of Mr. McKenna's proposal lies in the fact that it renders an unsatisfactory position somewhat less unsatisfactory.—**Western Mail.**

TRAGIC COMEDIANS

This is the in-and-out system with a vengeance. It reduces imprisonment to a comedy in the eyes of outsiders, although it may be tragic for the victims.—**Irish Independent.**

INTERMITTENT TORTURE BILL

Its wording is carefully chosen so as to enable Mr. McKenna to continue forcible feeding in any case where he thinks he can safely do so. . . . The only proper description of such a measure is a Bill for the Intermittent Torture of Suffragist Prisoners. Such a measure should clearly be killed at once. It applies to Ireland, and it may be applied, at any time, to any class of political prisoners in Ireland. This is a matter which specially concerns the Irish Nationalist members, who, according to Mr. Redmond's public declarations, are "heart and soul with you" in desiring to have political prisoners treated as such. What are they going to do about it? And what are the other "friends" of woman's suffrage in the House of Commons going to do to prevent the scandal of a repressive measure being passed without any attempt being made to redress the grievance of women? Where is the "mandate" for it? —**Irish Citizen.**

COERCION NO REMEDY

Coercion is no remedy, whether used by women in earnest against a Government or by a Government against the women. Conciliation and concession have never failed yet, just as coercion has never succeeded either in England or Ireland when there were conflicts on issues or questions affecting government and representation.—**Northern Daily Telegraph.**

The introduction of a measure of this character shows not only how completely the women have beaten the Government, but shows also that the Government are prepared to go to any length in order to break down the women's movement. We object to the Cat and Mouse Bill as the establishment of a new and dangerous precedent in our criminal administration, but we oppose it still more because it is a futile and foolish attempt to deal with a difficulty which would not have arisen if the Government had treated the women honourably. We are frankly disappointed with the attitude of the suffragist supporters towards this Bill, and we urge that a measure so dangerous in principle, and so futile in its application to the particular difficulty which it is intended to meet, should be rejected outright.—**Christian Commonwealth.**

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN AMERICA

THE VICTORY IN ALASKA

Further information is now to hand concerning the enfranchisement of women in Alaska, of which we received the first intimation, a fortnight ago, by special cable to VOTES FOR WOMEN.

It appears that Alaska being a Territory and not a State, the ballot can be granted there by an Act of Legislature, and does not have to be referred, as in the States of the American Union, to a referendum of the voters as well.

Full Suffrage has, therefore, been granted to the women of Alaska by the Act which passed both Houses of the Alaska Legislature without a single dissentient voice.

A SHORT CUT TO THE WOMAN'S VOTE
Will It be Taken?

A quicker way to enfranchise women in the United States than by the piecemeal method by which each State has to pass its own franchise measure and submit it to a referendum, would be through an amendment to the National Constitution. The movement towards the adoption of this method has received a distinct impetus through the Suffrage victory recently gained in the U.S. Senate, when the Senate's Woman Suffrage Committee was taken out of the list of inactive committees, where it had remained for years, and thus ceased to be what is called a "minority Committee." Its membership has been increased from five to nine, and the Chairmanship has been given to Senator Charles S. Thomas, of Colorado, one of the oldest Woman Suffrage States.

"The proposal to give women Suffrage through an amendment to the National constitution is becoming a question of constantly growing importance," Chairman Thomas is reported in the *Woman's Journal* (Boston) to have said. "I have taken the chairmanship of this committee because I believe I can do some effective work for the extension of suffrage to the women of the country."

We congratulate our American sisters on this brightening of their prospects.

MINIMUM WAGE FOR WOMEN IN A SUFFRAGE STATE

In the State of Washington, where women won the vote in November, 1910, a Minimum Wage Bill has been passed, making $1.25 (i.e., 5s.) per day the lowest permissible wage for women employed in offices, factories, laundries, stores, and other commercial enterprises.

TO BOYCOTT THE ANTI'S

Mrs. Belmont, the millionaire American Suffragist, has issued a statement to her fellow-countrywomen asking them to boycott England and English ships until English women are given the franchise.

SUFFRAGIST ADMITTED TO AMERICA
Reversal of Decision

Miss Florence Ward, the English Suffragist, who, as stated in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN, was refused admission to America on the ground that she had been imprisoned for four months for window breaking, has now received permission from Washington to enter the country.

VOTES FOR WOMEN STRIKERS!

It cannot but appear to an outside observer that if the rank and file of the Shirt Waist Makers and Garment Workers of New York possessed the head and the heart to vote a strike, they were equally well equipped to vote a settlement of the strike. —**The Masses.**

VOTES FOR WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA

We have received the following interesting communication from a correspondent in South Africa:—

It was said of South African women, by one of their number who had paid a visit to England, that they were practically living in the atmosphere of the seventeenth century. I should not venture to make such a statement, but I cannot help thinking, as the result of my experience there, that the majority of the women, Dutch or English, have a very imperfect conception of the meaning of the Women's Movement in the twentieth century. I have already described my visit to Natal and the Transvaal, and my stay at Kimberley (see VOTES FOR WOMEN, November 29, 1912). I propose in this letter to deal with our work in Cape Province, the most beautiful and populous part of South Africa.

The Woman's Vote to Save the Union

The country itself is indeed a dream of beauty. But "it is not to taste sweet things, but to do good and noble deeds, that the meanest son of Adam dimly longs," as Carlyle reminds us, and in this land of beauty there exist colossal evils and memorials of a tragic past which rend the heart. The two European races that are the main white population of *United* South Africa are at daggers drawn, in spite of the rose-coloured pictures painted by the Liberal statesmen of to-day; and the bitterness of hatred between the white and the coloured races is a problem that will soon prove an almost insurmountable difficulty to Imperial politicians. "The Woman's Movement," so despised by the anti-Suffrage Cabinet of to-day, may be the one means of uniting the races so recently at war. Wherever I went in South Africa, I was welcomed by Dutch (Boer) as well as English women, and I feel certain that the real Union of South Africa can best be preserved and its peace assured by the establishment of the woman's vote. The Boer women and the British women of South Africa suffered too much in the war of 1899-1902 ever to permit of its recurrence if they have power to prevent it. Mr. Nevinson has pointed out in your pages how much women suffer from a war; and this fact is brought home most keenly to the traveller who sees the graves of soldiers lining the route from Durban to Johannesburg, from Johannesburg to Cape Town, graves carefully tended and covered with flowers by the loving hands of the women who are left to mourn their dead.

"Age of Consent—Thirteen"

In Cape Province we were invited to all parts of the Colony to tell the story of the woman's movement at home, and to explain especially how the vote had affected the women of the Commonwealth of Australia and the Dominions of New Zealand. Lady Rose Innes, Mrs. Marais, and Mrs. David Wood gave garden-parties, where, under beautiful sunshine and in a riot of colour from the vivid flowers, we gave to large audiences something of the story of the work, strenuous and unappreciated, that women were doing throughout the world. It requires an effort of the imagination for the well-to-do women in these beautiful surroundings to realise the misery of the sweated woman worker; but the horrors of the system are not wholly unknown even in South Africa, and I have never found an audience of my own sex lacking in imagination. The horrors of the White Slave Traffic were appreciated, and the whole question of moral reform met with a ready sympathy, as was natural in a country where the "Black Peril" has recently been a matter of investigation by a mixed committee of men and women, but where the State Registration of Vice is still in force, and where the age of consent is thirteen.

Militancy Explained

Besides addressing the fashionable women of the Province, we spoke at a meeting at the City Hall (minor), where we addressed a most attentive audience of both sexes. At question time, one of the audience declared himself converted, and begged that on our return from Australia we would hold meetings "for men only," as men hesitated to attend women's meetings. Miss Newcombe addressed a meeting at Maitland, where she found her audience unanimous in support of the cause; we also addressed the Citizen Club, and various other associations, and we found, on the whole, that in spite of the misrepresentations of the cables (possibly due to the need for brevity) and the Press condemnation of militant policy, that our audience were rather curious about this than actually hostile to it. Our explanation of the reason for it generally removed or, at all events, modified, all trace of hostility. "Tout comprendre, c'est tout pardonner."

To the Country where Women Vote

From South Africa we came, after a three weeks' voyage, to Melbourne. On the journey we had given lectures to the men and women emigrants (900 in number), who gladly welcomed my information about the new land to which we were coming. On the boat we saw and heard something of the difficulties and dangers women emigrants had to encounter.

We had the opportunity, during our stay, of speaking at two meetings got up in our honour, of interviewing the Prime Minister, and of hearing a debate enlarging the scope of old age pensions in the Senate. In this, the Federal Upper House, we were received with the greatest courtesy, and Miss Vida Goldstein, who accompanied us, gave us an opportunity of speaking to some of the Senators, who were much interested in hearing of the doings of the suffragettes.

Another correspondent from South Africa (Mrs. E. M'Welch, President of the Benoni Branch of the Transvaal Women's Enfranchisement League) sends us the following item of news in a letter dated February 24, 1913:—

We have had the subject up before our Union Parliament at the beginning of this month, when Mr. Andrews (Labour) brought forward a motion in its favour. The debate is to be resumed on the 26th inst., when the vote on it should clearly show us our friends and otherwise. Members of all parties spoke in favour of Votes for Women. The Premier (Botha) believes in it theoretically, but thinks we are not ready, and the primitive members from the back blocks use the "woman and home" argument. Women were debarred from sitting on Town Councils by one adverse vote in the Provincial Councils. We can sit in School Boards, however, but not vote for them!

THE PRESS AND MILITANCY

FROM THE LAND OF THE FREE

The *New York Sun* says nothing more grotesque than the struggle between the Suffragists and the Government could ever have been conceived even by W. S. Gilbert. The country vaunted for its law and order has become the laughing-stock of Europe.

The *New York World* says before such irrational agitators the Government must either assert its power or abdicate in favour of the forces of violence and lawlessness.—**Central News Cable.**

AN AUSTRALIAN CRITICISM

The Militants, the shrieking Sisterhood, are utterly wrong in employing explosives and fire; but before we say Let them starve to death it is well to note the terrible evils which they wish to abolish, the never-ending procession of women sacrificed to lust and foul dens and cruelty sanctioned by Man-made law.—**Geelong Advertiser.**

THOSE WHO ASK WON'T HAVE

Englishmen have not lost their ancient grit, and they are not going to be terrorised by a band of rich women. They will study the question of Woman's Suffrage on its merits, but if the constitutional part of the agitators show themselves powerless to control their sisters, that exhibition of weakness cannot but tell when the voter comes to make up his mind. —**Evening Standard.**

WHY NOT TRY JUSTICE?

We are not without hope, however, that one of these days some brilliant genius will hit on a scheme for restraining these turbulent feminine guerilla companies.—**Evening Standard.**

"FOR THINKING WOMEN"

Womanliness is a delicate flower that cannot long survive in the squalid atmosphere of rowdyism which Mrs. Pankhurst has done so much to create. . . . . **Standard.**

TRY IT!

One thing is certain, and that is that an impossible condition of affairs is being created, which threatens not only the homes of England, but also the entire fabric of government. Without law and order, modern government is impossible. To give the vote to women will not change this fact.—**Review of Reviews**

COULD THEY BE BORROWED?

We do not deny this "little people, few but apt in the field" courage, conviction, and ideals. But we do deny it brains.—**Manchester Courier.**

SETTING THE FASHION

Montenegro's attitude is, in fact, that of a Suffragette among the nations.—**Daily Mail.**

WILLIAM OWEN

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CORRESPONDENCE

JURIES AND JUSTICE

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—How often in our haste do we scornfully speak of the jury system as a foolish reliance on common rather than expert opinion!

The contrast between judge and jury on both occasions of Mrs. Pankhurst's trial gives cause for reflection, that, in matters of right and wrong, instinct is often infinitely superior to the letter of the law interpreted by reason. The "strong recommendation to mercy" is, I believe, the voice of the national conscience guided by instinct; the "sentence of three years' penal servitude" is the unmistakable voice of the scribe. The one unconsciously represents humanity and blunt truth which speaks without regard for consequences; the other speaks for institutionalism and mere expediency which will take no risks.

Cheated and oppressed by what Ibsen called "that confounded compact liberal majority," smothered by the unco' respectable sycophantic Press of all parties, how many aching hearts will now be repeating with a new sense of reality the words of the Master, "Oh, ye scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!"—Yours, &c.,

A Student of Law and the Gospel.

The Temple, April 7, 1913.

WHAT IS "ABOMINABLE WICKEDNESS"?

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—At the City Temple on Good Friday, the Rev. J. R. Campbell said that "wherever self-sacrifice is in the service of a high, impersonal end, you behold something of the redeeming work of Christ." The application of these words to the militant suffragists has been traversed by a Mr. Moreton in the *Standard* of March 27. It is good to think that a few just men offered to the Crucified on that day the homage of understanding. For I am sure He would have classed the Mr. Moretons with the Pharisees and hypocrites. Evil so awful that in the Jerusalem of Christ's day none could have been found to equal it, skulks in our midst; it is protected, as Mrs. Bramwell Booth has shown, by our magistrates; the public male conscience about these abominations is so slack, so totally irreligious, that there is no uprising when little girl children, aye, little girl babies, are done to death by a beastliness truly hellish. . . . . .

Allow me space to quote from the "Defence," which Mr. Stead published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1885. He is quoting from Lord Dalhousie's report in the House of Lords: "I should fail if I were to attempt to give your Lordships an adequate description of the life of shame, degradation, and wretchedness which that vile, iniquitous traffic has inflicted on our countrywomen." He and Lord Shaftesbury both declared that "nothing more cruel, appalling, or detestable could be found in the history of crime all over the world, either in ancient or in modern times." Lord Granville added that he had at first suspected exaggeration, but had found on examination that there was no exaggeration. "No time should be lost!" cried Lord Dalhousie, and that was in 1881!

And to-day our British newspapers are using these same words for the women who have spoiled their golf-greens and pleasure-grounds, and burnt down empty houses! . . . But there is nothing new—even Mr. Moreton is not new. He is as old as history. He was recognised by Christ Himself when He spoke of the hypocrisy of those who said, "If we had been in the times of our fathers we would not have stoned the prophets." . . . And to-day we have Mr. Moreton's suggestion that the spiritual kingdom to which the women militants belong is that ruled over "by the Prince of Darkness!" And the reason? The reason is that "their disgraceful conduct is bringing so much pain, mentally and physically, upon those who are innocent of any crime towards them." Is the pain and misery heaped up decade after decade upon those really innocent ones of Christ who are the victims of the White Slave Traffic a lesser thing? Here is another reason:—"Is it the spirit of self-sacrifice 'to wrest the labour field from men and under-sell their own husbands, fathers, and brothers?'" No, says Mr. F. Harrison. And he is right. "It is a monstrous perversion of industrial, domestic, and moral order. A society which continues to develop in this line is lost."

What Solomons! The "monstrous perversion" consists in men selling frills in women's shops at a sufficient wage, and young women at their sides selling frills for an insufficient wage, which they are expected to eke out by immoral earnings. This is the line along which there will be no development. And that is what Mr. Campbell and many others of his cloth, and, I rejoice to say, some of the Bishops on the bench, have understood. What Christian principle suggests that the shoes for Mr. Algernon Flowerdew's children is a matter of more importance than the souls and bodies of women?

I fear, then, the spiritual remains where it always has been, with those few whose light is wilfully mistaken for darkness.—Yours, &c.,

M. A. R. Tukes.

A BREEZY AMERICAN TRIBUTE

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—If England is to be saved from herself it is up to the women of England to do the trick—if not too late—to save the once huge fabric, i.e., the British Empire, from tottering.

The Militant Suffragettes are positively the only hope of the tight little Island to-day. It is the plucky English women, and the women only, who can, at this late day, save the Government from complete ruin. Surely the women of England know what they are about in their militancy. They can clearly perceive that their country is on the verge of a big upheaval, and rightly too, they are determined to save it if possible from inside corruption.

London to-day is the "World's Clearing-house" for the White Slave Traffic. It can bring this Western Metropolis to a standstill in this respect. No wonder, then, that those noble women with their mother instinct permeating their everyday life, should cry aloud for a voice in Government affairs. It seems to the non-posted reader a far-away cry from attempting to interview Cabinet Ministers in the Commons, damaging letter boxes, or obliterating shop windows—to freeing England; but it is practically the same thing, don't you know!

"History Repeating Itself"

Italians had to fight, and fight hard, before gaining their independence. The American War of Independence was thrashed out to the bitter end for a principle, and the Colonists gained their freedom—the women fighting side by side with father, husband, or brother. Militancy to-day is simply history repeating itself.

American independence was fought for and gained by the self-same perseverance and pugnacity as is being demonstrated by the present-day British militants. It is not in Britain alone that the battle for "Votes for Women" is being closely watched. Oh, no! The eyes of the civilised world are concentrated upon Britain, and devoutly praying that this present militant propaganda be fruitful in its insistence.

Here, in the States, the Suffragettes are battling for their rights, and, while it may appear that the "powers that be" are "nice and chivalrous" towards them, yet way down in their inmost souls they fear the coming result. Militant tactics as instituted in London would never be allowed to "roam at large" here, for the simple reason that the average American business man would graciously consent to "Votes for women" rather than have his shop windows perforated, while "Brother Bull" bellows for all the world like the proverbial mad bull, stamps the ground, and proclaims the fact that he is, now and for ever, irrevocably opposed to "Votes for Women."

"Graduated Force"

For nearly a century British women have been pleading their cause, and now, in this twentieth century, a British Cabinet having once again thrown cold water over them, there is only one thing left, and that is "graduated force."

Their present guerilla warfare is approved on this side of the pond, and they cannot go too far in their attempt to obtain "official recognition." They (the militants) have the same indomitable spirit that enabled the earlier victims of "man's inhumanity" to bear patiently their martyrdom. To them the cause is so sacred that it is their very religion. For are they not employing the self-same methods—although in a milder form—that the English employed before they secured their hard fought rights through the granting of Magna Charta?

—Yours, &c.,

Friendship Gloucester, R.A.M.

Irvington, New York, U.S.A.

GIBSON BOWLES v. BANK OF ENGLAND

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—In view of the circular issued by the Board of Inland Revenue on April 2 to bankers, paying agents, coupon dealers, and others, may I suggest that every woman who has had income-tax deducted from her April dividends, without her consent, should write to the agents, who have acted illegally in so doing, and demand the immediate return of same, pending the passing of the Budget for 1913.

This will be a form of purely constitutional militancy, at which even anti-suffragists can have no shadow of cause for complaint.—Yours, &c.,

Westcliff-on-Sea. Sara Falcke.

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COMING EVENTS

The New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage announce a meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday, April 13, at 12 noon. Speakers, Mrs. Merivale Meyer and others. The Society will also hold an At Home at their offices on Tuesday, April 15, when Mrs. Kingsley Tarpey will speak on "Flogging: the Ethics of Punishment and the Responsibility of Women." There will be a discussion.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at a meeting at the Philosophical Hall, Leeds, on Monday, April 14, at 8 p.m. Chairman, the Rev. R. H. Harvey, M.A. Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be present at a Social Gathering at the Small Public Hall, Croydon, on Thursday, April 17. The gathering will be from 8 p.m. to 11. There will be short speeches, recitations, and competitions. A public meeting will be held in the Athenæum, Glasgow, on Monday, April 21, at 8 p.m. Speakers, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Eunice Murray. The chair will be taken by Miss Constance Andrews.

The Church League for Women's Suffrage will hold an Irish branch meeting in the Gregg Memorial Hall, Dawson Street, Dublin, on Tuesday, April 15. Speakers, Miss Canning and the Rev. C. Hinscliff. There will be a Wimbledon meeting on April 17, at 8.30 p.m., at St. Mark's Hall, when the speakers will be the Right Rev. Bishop Powell and Dr. Helen Hanson. The League's Spring Fair, to raise funds for its educational work, will be held at the Rectory Road Hall, Stoke Newington, on April 17 and 18.

The Suffrage Club, 52, New Bond Street, announce a lecture by the Rev. C. Llewellyn Smith on "The Significance of the Suffrage Movement," on Thursday, April 17, at 8.30 p.m. On Tuesday, April 29, at 3.30 p.m., there will be a lecture on "Women and Children Criminals: the Need for Reform in our Penal System." Speakers, Dr. Ede and George Montague, Esq.

The "Edward Terry" Dramatic Club will give a performance of "The Younger Generation," on Saturday, April 19, at 8 p.m., under the auspices of the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement. The proceeds will be devoted to the "William Ball" Fund, and the play will be presented at the Cripplegate Theatre, Cripplegate Institute, Golden Lane, E.C. Tickets, price 4s. to 6d., can be obtained at the offices of the M.P.U., at W.S.P.U. shops and offices, or at the Hall.

The newly-formed Oxford University branch of the Men's Political Union will hold its inaugural meeting at Oxford on April 26. The speakers will be Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mr. Gerald Gould, and Mr. H. W. Nevinson. Old Oxford men desirous of attending the meeting are asked to communicate with the Secretary, Harold Laski, New College, Oxford.

PROTEST AGAINST COERCION BY WOMEN'S LABOUR LEAGUE

The Executive Committee of the National Women's Labour League has passed a resolution in which it says:

"The present form of petty terrorism, leading even to tragic consequences for individuals, is lowering and embittering political life, but more than repression is required of wise statesmanship. Behind such an outburst there cannot but be a real sense of wrong and revolt against injustice, and to ignore this and continue to coerce is the work of the police and not of the legislature. We therefore call upon the Government to deal with the cause of the present turmoil, to withhold no longer the rights of full citizenship, and to bring to an end the ignoble warfare which is being waged by a small number of women against the whole community."

The Government and the House of Commons (the resolution declares) are overlooking the fact that the root cause of the unrest can only be removed by giving votes to all adult men and women.

WOMEN CIVIL SERVANTS

At a meeting held by the Civil Service Women's Suffrage Society last week, the following resolution was carried unanimously:—

That this meeting of women civil servants expresses its profound dissatisfaction at the attitude of the Government towards the demand for the enfranchisement of women, and refuses to accept the offer of opportunities for a private member's Bill as honourable fulfilment of the pledges given by the Prime Minister to representatives of Suffrage societies. It calls upon the Government to introduce this session a Government measure granting the Parliamentary franchise to women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men.

"ONE LAW FOR MEN . . ."

A youth charged with behaving in a disorderly manner, and with assaulting a policeman by knocking him down, during the Suffragist meeting on Wimbledon Common last Sunday, was let off with the nominal fine of 10s.! Four others, charged with "inciting" the crowd to release another prisoner—one of them called out, "Go on, boys; let's rush the police!"—were merely bound over.

As we have had occasion to remark before on similar occasions, it is fortunate for the young hooligans who go to break up Suffragette meetings that they are not women demanding their constitutional rights.

A NON-MILITANT PROTEST

It is reported that, as a protest against the sentence on Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Richardson has resigned her membership of the Bexhill Education Committee and other public bodies. She has made an appeal to all women guardians and women members of other bodies to follow her example, and suggests that women should refuse to do any work in church, to teach in Sunday school, or to engage in philanthropic work until Mrs. Pankhurst is released.

TAX RESISTANCE

Three members of the Women's Tax Resistance League have had their goods sold during the week:—Mrs. Skipwith, of Woking, for refusal to pay Property Tax, on April 3; Miss Bertha Brewster, for non-payment of Inhabited House Duty, and Miss Raleigh for refusal to pay Imperial Taxes, on April 5.

A New Pamphlet

We may here add that a new pamphlet, "Married Women and Income Tax" (price 3d.), has been published by the League. The subject dealt with is one of immediate interest in view of the statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer foreshadowing the probable amendment of the laws affecting the taxation of married women's incomes in the next Finance Bill. The point specially dealt with in the pamphlet is that after marriage the incomes of husband and wife are assessed as one, and in many cases the total amount is thus brought under the higher scale of assessment. The hardship is not removed in the case of Death Duties, which are charged to the widow, and, as Lord Lansdowne has pointed out, "it is rather difficult to see why a married woman should pay Death Duties on an income which she has shared with her husband during his lifetime, and on which income tax was levied upon the assumption that it was not a separate income, but a joint aggregate income."

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Voters Association,
9, Gratton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,
48, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.

Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C.

Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
125, Leinster Road, Rathmines, Dublin.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
60, West Street, Horsham.

Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
28, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

People's Suffrage Federation,
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.

Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

Suffrage Atelier
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club.
52, New Bond Street, W.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

Suffragists' Vigilance League,
49, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Woman's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.

Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

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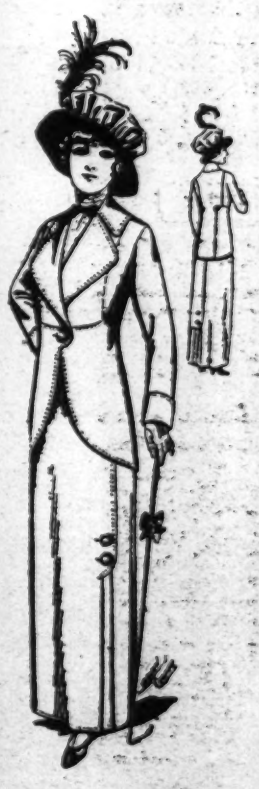

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All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, *4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.*

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds regular Public Meetings every Wednesday afternoon. Speakers, April 16: Mrs. Cobden Sanderson and Mrs. Nott Bower. The Chair will be taken by Mrs. Huntsman at 3.30 p.m. Admission Free.

FREE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—A Spring Fair will be held in Rectory Road Congregational Lecture Hall, Stoke Newington, N., Thursday and Friday, April 17 and 18. To be opened on Thursday at 3 o'clock by Countess Brassey, and on Friday at 3 o'clock by Mrs. W. Hammer (ex-Mayoress of Hackney). Frequent entertainments during afternoon and evening; dramatic performances by the Actresses' Franchise League; concert under the direction of Mr. and Mrs. Howe; songs by Miss Floriel Florean (celebrated Taal singer); Jenkins' Premier Mandoline Band; Old English dances; silhouette portraits by Baron Scotford; psychic delineations.

MEN'S POLITICAL UNION, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C.—Special Dramatic Performance. The "Edward Terry" Dramatic Club present, at the Cripplegate Institute, Golden Lane, E.C., Saturday, April 19, 1913, at 8 p.m., "The Younger Generation." Preceded by two new one-act plays. Proceeds to "William Ball" Fund.

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TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private class or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness. . . . while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

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